

California Historical Quarterly

DVPI

June 1971



COVER: "The Boss Historian" was the title of this devastating cartoon of Hubert Howe Bancroft that appeared in San Francisco's weekly satirical sheet, *The Wasp*, on April 18, 1885. The many hands of apprentice and journeyman historians scarcely interrupt the master's celebrations. By this time it is, of course, unnecessary to defend Bancroft—his monumental *History of the Pacific Slope* speaks for itself and his methods are today not at all unusual. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the cartoon is that Bancroft's "History Company" should have created sufficient stir to earn a fierce jibe on the cover of a magazine like *The Wasp*. (Cartoon courtesy of John Swingle, Alta California Bookstore.)

California Historical Quarterly

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CONTENTS

VOLUME L • JUNE 1971 • NO. 2

Theodore H. Hittell and Hubert H. Bancroft: Two Western Historians / 101
by ROBERT W. RIGHTER

Climatotherapy in California / 111
by KENNETH THOMPSON

The Sense of the 'Seventies: California One Hundred Years Ago / 131
by ROGER OLMSTED

The First Hundred Years: A Descriptive Bibliography
of California Historical Society Publications 1871-1971 / 163
by PETER A. EVANS

Early California Propaganda: The Works of Fray
Antonio de la Ascencion / 195
by W. MICHAEL MATHES

Book Reviews / 206

Letter from the Editor / 218

The *California Historical Quarterly* is published by the California Historical Society in March, June, September and December. Membership is \$15.00 per year and includes subscription to the *Quarterly* and *Notes*. Second-class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1971, by the California Historical Society. Office of publication: 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108 Editorial offices at 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109



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Theodore H. Hittell and Hubert H. Bancroft: Two Western Historians

IN THE 1880's, CALIFORNIANS observed the appearance of two multi-volumed histories of their state. Both works were so extensive, fundamental, and deeply rooted in detail that they have since influenced California historical writing. One was the product of the determination and ambition of Hubert H. Bancroft, a well-known San Francisco bookseller and publisher.¹ The other represented twenty-five years of research and writing by the prominent San Francisco attorney, Theodore H. Hittell.²

Although both works were written concurrently, they showed no evidence of cooperation. Nor did either author acknowledge the work of the other. When the philosopher and historian Josiah Royce reviewed the two works (Hittell, Vol. II; Bancroft, Vol. III) for *The Nation*, he remarked ruefully that the two undertakings lacked any sort of cooperative scholarship. He placed the blame with Hittell, chiding the historian for his failure to use more fully the resources of his contemporaries. "No historian," exclaimed Royce, "can gain by stubborn independence, or by ignoring fellow-students merely because their books are published at nearly the same time with his own."³ Since Royce's time, other historians have echoed these sentiments, with Hittell bearing the brunt of criticism.⁴

The following does not seek to vindicate Theodore Hittell from the charge of "stubborn independence." Admittedly, he was often stubborn and fiercely independent. Yet, there were many circumstances which made difficult, if not impossible, any sort of collaboration between the two. This paper seeks to explain some of these circumstances. It attempts to answer questions regarding the authors' personal relationship as well as how they viewed each other's work. Finally, it explores how the two men differed regarding the craft of writing history.

In seeking explanations one is immediately confronted by the limited evidence available. There seemed to be a "conspiracy of silence" between the two historians. Unquestionably they were acquainted, for in a letter to the California historian Rockwell Hunt, Hittell mentioned that he had made the acquaintance of Bancroft before he had begun his history.⁵ Furthermore, both men lived over sixty years in San Francisco and shared mutual interests that must have brought them together on occasion.⁶

Whatever the particular circumstances of their first meeting, it was not pleasant, for Hittell adds in his letter to Hunt that their introduction "did not make me feel kindly towards him."⁷ This personal antipathy evidently intensified through the years when both scholars were publishing the results of their investigations. Yet any animosity between the two men was kept strictly to themselves. In the foregoing letter to Hunt, Hittell reminded the young historian that he had been asked his opinion on Bancroft in confidence and that he desired his answer "to be considered as confidential." Hittell added that he did "not wish to be known as saying anything about him or his books."⁸ Hunt respected the wishes of the senior historian, and when his somewhat critical article on Bancroft appeared in 1911, Hittell was not mentioned.⁹ It is also significant that Theodore Hittell's grandson, who was close to the historian in his old age, has stated that he never once heard his grandfather say anything derogatory about Bancroft or his histories.¹⁰

The only instance when Hittell referred to Bancroft in print was in regard to consideration by the State of California of purchase of the Bancroft Library. In his *History of California*, he noted that in 1887 a bill was introduced for purchase of the library. The bill was soon withdrawn and never came to a vote. Hittell might have easily dropped the matter, but unfortunately he took the liberty of calling the Bancroft collection "of little value" and "unreliable."¹¹ It is rather remarkable that Bancroft's magnificent collection of manuscripts and books, which has become the backbone of research on California and the Far West, he considered "of no great use to the state."¹² Whether professional jealousy or ignorance of the collection (or both) caused this miscalculation is not certain. Whatever the cause for this brief diatribe, it is surely one of his most offensive paragraphs to the professional historian.

It is certain that Hittell never used the Bancroft Library nor did he even visit the collection.¹³ Furthermore, it is unlikely that Hittell ever approached Bancroft with the idea of using his manuscripts and rare materials. For better or worse, Hittell was a truly independent man, and the thought of borrowing materials from Bancroft was no doubt repulsive to him. George Hamlin Fitch, in a complimentary review, likened Hittell's work to that of George Bancroft, John Lathrop Motley, and Francis Parkman. Like these master historians, Fitch stated, Hittell believed "in the old-fashioned way of doing his own research and making his own notes and digests."¹⁴ Surely he believed that using the materials of someone else's private efforts was something less than honorable.

Even if Hittell had asked to use certain manuscripts in Bancroft's possession it is unlikely that he would have received permission. Bancroft was first a businessman. According to his assistant, Henry Oak, he wanted above all to sell his product at a profit. To allow Hittell access to his valuable collection would obviously cost him sales, for perhaps his strongest selling point was the vastness of the resources which went into his history. To permit Hittell



At a picnic on the grass, the venerable T. H. Hittell
relaxes with younger friends.

to peruse these resources would have struck him as giving a competitor free access to his trade secrets. Henry Oak, who perhaps knew Bancroft better than any other man, believed that at no time "had the choice been squarely presented to him, would he have accepted the highest success as an historian at the cost of financial failure."¹⁵

With this thought in mind, the criticism by Josiah Royce that the "two undertakings lack all evidence of that friendly and critical cooperation and rivalry with each other wherein lies the very life of progressive scholarship," cannot be placed on Hittell alone.¹⁶ As earlier noted, Royce implied that the lack of cooperation was the fault of Hittell. This would seem natural to Royce, for he was given free access to the Bancroft Library and felt deeply indebted to Bancroft and his staff. However, the cordiality which Royce received stemmed primarily from the fact that Royce was writing a monograph which would in no way be in competition with Bancroft's histories. Had he been writing competitive volumes, it is unlikely that he would have lavished so much praise on Bancroft and his staff, nor would he have found Bancroft so willing to share his treasures.

Hittell has also been criticized for not consulting Bancroft's *History of California*. "If Mr. Hittell," wrote Royce, "could only have waited awhile . . .

and if he could only have read Mr. Bancroft!"¹⁷ Henry Oak agreed, thinking Hittell quite obstinate in his refusal to consult Bancroft's *Works* in the preparation of his own.¹⁸ The argument has some validity and without question the quality of his first two volumes would have been enhanced by use of the information afforded in Bancroft's histories. It must be remembered, however, that Hittell was writing in the shadow of the great project being compiled on the fifth floor of the Bancroft Building. If he had consulted and used Bancroft's *History of California* it is more than likely that he would have brought on himself the opprobrium of paraphrasing and parroting Bancroft. Like so many later histories, his work might have been simply another work built upon the sturdy foundation of Bancroft's massive work. Considering the nature of historical writing in his day and the circumstances which he faced, his decision to write independently was not unwise. In fact, much of the charm and the value of Hittell's volumes lies in the fact that they present interpretations and conclusions arrived at independently. Hittell's *History of California* is happily one of the few early works in California history free of the pervasive influence of Hubert Howe Bancroft.

For Hittell, the decision to work independently was more than a matter of fear of public belittling of his efforts. His decision was made as much on principle as expediency. He, like many of San Francisco's literary circle, disagreed with the "factory method" of writing history. Hittell was of the opinion that the writing of history should be an individual enterprise. Each page of a historical work should be touched by the historian's own personality and poetical nature. He was truly a romantic, like his hero Carlyle, and the Americans, George Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman.¹⁹

Of course Bancroft defended his methods by stating that his monumental undertaking could not have been completed without the aid of assistants. This is true, but Hittell would have retorted that if this were the case then the work should not have been done. Hittell always admired the fact that Bancroft had accumulated so much material on California history, but he objected to the way it was culled and arranged. His system of writing history in decades was to Hittell "like labeling of statements, throwing them in decade bins, and then unloading the bins, one after the other, very much as a carter unloads bricks."²⁰ Nor did he think highly of Bancroft's employing other men to write his histories and then assuming the credit himself. "It seemed to me," he wrote confidentially to Hunt, "like degrading history, just as his plan of writing up individuals for money is degrading to biography. I suppose that honest historians and fair biographers will still continue to exist; and, if they do, they will not be mistaken by Mr. Bancroft."²¹

This letter to Rockwell Hunt puts into words Hittell's true feelings toward Bancroft's work. A professional historian had asked his opinion, and he had given his frank opinion in confidence. Letters to friends, such as the Santa Barbara judge and attorney Charles Fernald, were not so discreet. In

answer to Fernald's letter, which strongly condemned Bancroft, Hittell had replied in like fashion. He wrote that Bancroft had neither the "knowledge or ability to write anything worthwhile," and henceforth "it is no longer necessary for a historian to have *brains*—all he needs is a lot of low-priced fellows to make extracts from all the books and newspaper articles, buy baskets to hold these extracts after they are made, then [employ] more low-priced writers to draft and write each of the decades—presto! the history is made." Nearly all the history touched by Bancroft had been "dirtied" and "his *Works*, are, like himself, a pretention and a fraud."²²

Other letters concerning Bancroft are more judicious, and his usual ploy in regard to questions regarding a comparison of his work with that of Bancroft was to invite the inquirer to make his own judgment. His work would stand on its own merit. Typical was Hittell's response to a letter from a student asking him for a comparison of his work with other contemporaries. "It would," replied Hittell, "hardly be proper for me to say anything about my work in comparison with that of authors who have written on the same subject, except to say that, with the information within my reach at the time, I did my best to give a full, fair and interesting statement of facts."²³

In answer to another student who requested sources on the California missions, Hittell recommended using both Bancroft's books and his own, adding that Bancroft would give him "a great mass of material" but there were many errors. His own work he described as more compact, and while "there may be some errors, they are not important."²⁴

It must be emphasized again that outside of the derogatory remarks regarding the worth of the Bancroft collection, Hittell never allowed any of his opinions regarding his contemporary historian to be printed. We may now ask what Bancroft thought of Hittell's *History of California*. Was he interested and concerned about Hittell's work and was he willing to share his knowledge and resources in the cause of sound scholarship? The latter question has already been answered by the reference to the priority by Bancroft for business before history and scholarship. But what did he think of Hittell's work? Again we are faced with the before mentioned "conspiracy of silence." Hubert H. Bancroft authored three volumes which to a greater or lesser degree dealt with California historiography and prominent literary figures.²⁵ Within these volumes Theodore Hittell is mentioned once, and that was in regard to his book, *The Adventures of James Capen Adams*.²⁶ In *Essays and Miscellany* the index makes reference to Hittell on page 631, but the page, dealing with jurisprudence in California, does not mention Hittell. One might conjecture that Bancroft purposely edited out whatever was said regarding Hittell, but more than likely the reference was simply an error. In any case Bancroft deals with almost every person who had written anything historical on California and the West, and it is indeed curious that Hittell is never mentioned.

Although Bancroft does not mention Hittell by name, a few paragraphs

in *Literary Industries* tell us of an imaginary historian who is determined to write the history of California. The tale is designed to prepare the reader for an explanation of Bancroft's methods in collecting evidence and writing his *History of California*. The background and methods of this mythical historian are identical to those of Theodore Hittell. Bancroft explains that this ambitious author is at the beginning "wholly ignorant of his subject." He quickly reads some of the general works on California and they in turn lead him to other more specific titles. Soon he has discovered more titles than he ever dreamed existed. "His work," continues Bancroft, "even if he devotes his whole attention to it and resides in San Francisco, has at this stage occupied several years, and the author just begins to realize how very many books have been printed about California." Bancroft continues with an account of this harassed historian's struggle with foreign sources, his superficial readings, and incomplete use of the newspaper.²⁷

As to primary materials, the historian obtains "a few choice anecdotes and reminiscences," but he has no time to collect the statements of many historical figures. "He is aware of the desirability of original manuscript authorities; he eagerly deciphers a musty document procured by a friend who knows of his investigation." He uses select manuscripts from the missions, and "obtains from Mr. Hopkins, of the United States surveyor-general's office, translations of a few documentary curiosities; tries to flatter himself that he has studied the archives of California, and is a happy man if he escapes being haunted by the four hundred huge folio volumes of manuscripts containing the very essence of the annals he seeks to write, yet which he knows he could not master in fifteen years of hard work." By now, says Bancroft, this man knows he is a failure, that the work he set out to do cannot be accomplished in the allotted time. "Of course he does not feel called upon to make known to the public his comparative failure; on the contrary, he makes the most of his authorities. His notes are brought out and arranged; he has before him the testimony of several good witnesses on most of the prominent points of his subject; he has devoted twenty-five years of industrious research to his work; the book is finished and justly praised." This writer, who we can hardly doubt is Hittell, "failed simply because he attempted the impossible."²⁸

Bancroft then went on to explain his cooperative method of researching and writing, the principal point being that while the lone historian "had two or three witnesses whose testimony he had selected as essential on a certain topic; I have a hundred whose evidence is more or less relevant." From this point the race to write and publish "is well nigh run." "Had he the same data as I," conceded Bancroft, "his results would be superior to mine if he were my superior as a thinker and as a writer." Of course he does not, and the result is an inferior history. Bancroft ended his attack on Hittell and the traditional method of historical scholarship with the following paragraph:

My work at last completed, I have been able to accomplish thoroughly in fifteen years what my friend, quite as zealous, industrious, and able as I, has done superficially in twenty-five years, and what he could not have done as thoroughly as I, in six lifetimes. And yet our respective methods differ after all in degree rather than in kind. I have done scarcely anything that he has not attempted. He has purchased books, studied books, handled newspapers, deciphered manuscripts, and questioned pioneers; I have simply done twenty times as much as he in each of these directions, much more easily and in much less time.²⁹

Whatever the merits of Bancroft's system of composing history, we know that he took more credit for the actual writing of his history than he deserved. Of his seven volume *History of California*, the books with which we are particularly concerned, Bancroft wrote one ninety-eighth.³⁰ Five volumes were written by his prolific assistant, Henry L. Oak, who has ventured some thoughts on both his own work and that of Hittell.³¹ In regard to the Bancroft system he noted the unevenness in literary style, but perhaps more important, he criticized what we might today call "quality control." The emphasis on literary output, so many pages per day, he thought caused an unscrupulous writer whose reputation was not at stake to turn out shoddy work. This emphasis upon quantity rather than quality was one of Oak's most telling criticisms of Bancroft's system.³² On the other hand, Oak echoed Bancroft's censure of Hittell's work, noting that his rival's history (Vols. I & II) cited about seventy authors, while thirteen hundred would be a fair estimate of authorities cited in his own work for the same period.³³

Oak cited as proof of his own competency the reviews in *The Nation*, although neglecting to mention that they were written by his friend, Josiah Royce.³⁴ He felt gratified that the reviewer "pronounces in my favor." He conceded that this did not indicate that he was an abler writer than Hittell, but only "that my resources were vastly superior, and that I was not, at least, so obviously inferior a writer as to seriously mar the value of my work." Henry Oak, however, was an honest and introspective man, and he was willing to concede that Hittell's volumes had their place in California history, particularly in regard to their literary merit. "I agree, to some extent," continued Oak, "with the reviewer in his estimate of Mr. Hittell's book; that with equal labor and resources he might have produced better results than I is very probable; his book is certainly more readable than mine; and that, under the circumstances, he did so well has been a surprise to me, for I know better than the critic some of his limitations in respect to data."³⁵

One eventually must see that a comparison of the works of Hittell and Bancroft transcends the two men and their histories. One realizes that he is not comparing the work of two men alone, but rather the relative attributes of two systems of writing history. Hittell is representative of the traditional view of historical writing. He believed that history should be literature as well as fact and interpretation. Writing history was an art, and like painting,

sculpture, and poetry, it was an individual enterprise. Any cooperative effort was bound to destroy the individuality of the final product, thus making the finished result bland and lacking in unity and purpose. History for Hittell, as with the romantic historians, should give instruction. It should "prove something" and "take us somewhere."³⁶ It should have a theme, some idea to bring the separate parts into a meaningful whole. Again, like so many of the romantic historians, Hittell found his theme in the idea of "progress." Little wonder, for technological progress was all about him, and he had seen his adopted city of San Francisco rise to major stature in a phenomenally brief time. He had almost blind faith that the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and Californians in particular, were destined to have a great future. California's past he saw as clear evidence that there was progress in human affairs as well as in science and technology.

With this particular view of history, Hittell could justify his selective rather than exhaustive methods of research. This is not to say that Hittell was not a careful and accurate scholar, for he was. Bancroft's point, however, was well-taken. It was impossible for Hittell to examine all the evidence. But Hittell believed that he could develop his themes and draw his conclusions from a limited and manageable body of information.

While Hittell is closely allied to the romantic school of history, Bancroft in many ways was one of the pioneers of the "scientific school." He was most confident that his "cooperative method" of writing history was the wave of the future. In part, his certainty in his method seemed to be borne out in fact. On the east coast Justin Winsor brought out his eight volume cooperative effort entitled *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884-1889). Bancroft was quite critical of Winsor's work. He did not believe that Winsor should have parcelled out the work without having it "recast and made symmetrical by one master mind." He was pleased, nevertheless, that eastern scholars were accepting the idea that comprehensive histories were becoming beyond the power of one man to accomplish.³⁷

But in regard to literary excellence, Justin Winsor's *Narrative History* was no more successful than Bancroft's *Works*. Both histories have been commended for their copious footnotes and extensive bibliographies, but have been lampooned for their narrative chapters. Both works unearthed a great treasure of materials for future historians, but the narratives failed to excite or hold the reader. In the sense of capturing the imagination of the general public these "scientific" attempts to recreate the past were unsuccessful. Yet no historian could judge a work a failure on its popular appeal. Although Bancroft's work has not been read often for pleasure, it is still used extensively by scholars in the field. Like his library, Bancroft's *History of California* is still a springboard for new studies and syntheses in California history. We now know that the critic who remarked that Bancroft's history "is not cast in a form that will live" was absolutely wrong.³⁸

Clearly Hittell's history has proved the superior work in terms of narrative

and literary excellence. On the other hand, Bancroft's seven volumes are more valuable to the scholar, for here are the raw materials of history in great abundance. Both have their place on the shelves of California historians as monuments to individual effort and cooperative effort respectively.

NOTES

1. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 Vols., San Francisco, 1885-1890).
2. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (4 Vols., San Francisco, 1885, 1897). Vols. I and II were published in 1885 and Vols. III and IV were published in 1897.
3. *The Nation*, XLIII (July, 1886), 101.
4. For example, see Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), 256.
5. Draft letter from Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," MSS, Box I, Bancroft Library, University of California.
6. Bancroft lived in San Francisco from 1852 until his death in 1918; Hittell from 1855 until his death in 1917.
7. Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Rockwell D. Hunt, "Hubert Howe Bancroft: His Work and His Methods," Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, VIII (1911), 158-173. Also published in Rockwell D. Hunt, *California in the Making* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1953), 212-230.
10. Interview with Elgin Hittell, March 21, 1967.
11. Hittell, *History of California*, IV, 715.
12. *Ibid.*
13. There has been some confusion on this point. John Caughey in *California* (New York, 2nd ed., 1953), 438, states that Hittell, "was accorded many facilities at the Bancroft Library . . ." But in his article, entitled, "California in Third Dimension," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVIII (May, 1959), 121, Caughey states that Hittell "worked away at his history with never a nod to Bancroft or so much as a visit to the Bancroft collection. . . ." This latter statement is correct. In 1898 Joseph C. Rowell, librarian of the University of California, wrote Hittell asking his opinion of the worth of the Bancroft Library. Hittell responded with some rather negative comments, but admitted the following: "I myself never had anything to do with it or any part of it, never examined or used it, and am therefore not able to give an opinion except as the result of information derived from others." Like some of his other correspondence regarding Bancroft, Hittell asked that "for several reasons, this communication should be regarded as confidential." Theodore Hittell to Joseph C. Rowell, Librarian, University of California, July 18, 1898, in "Joseph C. Rowell Correspondence and Papers," Bancroft Library, University of California.
14. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 1897.
15. Henry Oak, "Literary Industries" in *A New Light: A Statement on the Authorship of Bancroft's Native Races and History of the Pacific States, with Comments on These Works and the System by Which They Were Written* (San Francisco, 1893), 12. When Oak published this small book he could be counted among Bancroft's

detractors. He was particularly irate regarding Bancroft's claims of authorship. Nonetheless, Oak's work need not be considered as the fanatical ravings of a disillusioned old man. He was highly complimentary to Bancroft on many counts, and was judicious in his criticism.

16. *The Nation*, XLII (March, 1886), 221.

17. *Ibid.*, XLIII (July, 1886), 100.

18. Oak, "*Literary Industries*" in *a New Light*, 20-21.

19. See Robert W. Righter, "Theodore Henry Hittell: A Biographical Study of a 19th Century California Historian and Intellectual" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1968), 36-39, 205-281.

20. Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Charles Fernald to Theodore Hittell, May 27, 1892; Theodore Hittell to Charles Fernald, June 10, 1892, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I. The "Charles Fernald Papers" are held in the Huntington Library, San Marino, and consist of some 8,160 pieces. There are, however, no letters from Hittell in this collection, and one finds little evidence regarding their acquaintance. Like Hittell, Fernald was an expert on Mexican land grants, and no doubt this mutual interest caused them to cross paths on occasion.

23. Theodore Hittell to Miriam Coulter, January 30, 1897, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.

24. Theodore Hittell to Harry J. Edwards, February 16, 1900, *ibid.*

25. *Essays and Miscellany* (Vol. XXXVIII of *Works*, San Francisco, 1890); *Literary Industries* (Vol. XXXIX of *Works*, San Francisco, 1890); and *Retrospection* (San Francisco, 1912).

26. Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany*, 606.

27. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 594-595.

28. *Ibid.*, 596.

29. *Ibid.*, 598.

30. For more detail on the authorship of Bancroft's *Works* see William A. Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, IV (1903), 287-364.

31. Walton Bean, in *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), is perhaps the first California historian to give Oak full credit. He now lists (pp. 58, 72) Bancroft's *History of California* as: Henry L. Oak, "Bancroft's" *History of California*.

32. Oak, "*Literary Industries*" in *a New Light*, 49.

33. *Ibid.*, 46.

34. *Ibid.*, 82.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (Norman, Okla., 1953), 123.

37. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 765-768.

38. Ella Sterling (Cummins) Mighels, *The Story of the Files* (San Francisco, 1893), 170.

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Climatotherapy in California

He 'scapes the best, who, nature to repair,
Draws physic from the fields, in draughts of vital air.

Epistle XIII—JOHN DRYDEN

CLIMATOTHERAPY—the use of prevailing atmospheric phenomena for curative or palliative medical treatment—has only minor significance for the modern clinical physician. Current American medical practice, insofar as it involves climatotherapy at all, generally does so in a negative way. Thus, an allergic patient might be counselled to remove himself from a regional source of allergens, or a sufferer from a respiratory condition advised to leave an area of severe winter cold. Elderly persons are often recommended to take up residence in regions of mild climate. In Europe, however, it would seem that climatotherapy is both more positively and more widely employed, especially by traditional-minded physicians.

In former times, on the other hand, when the therapeutic options available to medical practitioners were more limited, climatotherapy was a widespread medical procedure and commonly was self-prescribed. This was especially true in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century; the real and imagined climatotherapeutic benefits were potent forces that drew large numbers of migrants to the state.

Before considering the details of California climatotherapy, it is appropriate to examine the general background of etiology and therapeutics related to climate. Notions that elements of the physical environment play important roles in disease causation (and by extension, disease treatment) have a very long tradition. Indeed, at least from the time of Hippocrates until acceptance of the germ theory, medical men had been more or less preoccupied with environment-disease relationships.¹ Antique etiological theories attributed a wide range of diseases to environmental influence. In subsequent ages much medical thinking, not only etiologic but also therapeutic, has been concerned with environmental factors outside of man himself.² Many clinical conditions were formerly seen as essentially externally caused, due to the presence of atmospheric toxins, particular ingredients in earth materials, impurities or imbalances in water and food supplies, baleful weather and climatic influences, seismic activity, and other factors exogenous to man,

even including those of a supernatural or a celestial nature. For example, as recently as 1859, in a report on environment and health conditions in California, an author thought fit to chronicle two events that "from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, exercise a great influence in regard to epidemics: we allude to the comet of Donati, and the earthquake of the 26th November (1858)."³

The supposed dominance of environmental pathogenic influences is easily understood. Such theories conformed readily to everyday observation of disease, especially in epidemic form, that occurred at different times and places. The core of this environmental etiology can be observed in the famous beginning passage of Hippocrates' "On Airs, Waters, and Places":

Whoever wishes to investigate medicine properly, should proceed thus: in the first place to consider the seasons of the year, and what effect each of them produces. . . . Then the winds, the hot and the cold, especially such as are common to all countries, and then such as are peculiar to each locality. We must also consider the qualities of the waters. . . . In the same manner, when one comes into a city to which he is a stranger, he ought to consider its situation, how it lies as to the winds and the rising of the sun . . . to the north or to the south, to the rising or to the setting sun . . . the ground, whether it be naked and deficient in water, or wooded and well-watered, and whether it lies in a hollow, confined situation, or is elevated and cold; and the mode in which the inhabitants live, and what are their pursuits. . . .⁴

An essentially Hippocratic perception of environmental interaction in etiology prevailed in the western world until drastically revised in the light of the germ theory of disease. In the United States there was little interest in the germ theory during its development; consequently, the older etiologies remained in the forefront until about the 1880's.⁵

Winslow has summarized the condition of American epidemiology at the beginning of the last century and stated that three main theoretical principles were involved: contagion, miasmata, and the epidemic constitution of the atmosphere.⁶ Although contagionist views had been advanced since ancient times, the contagionist theory of disease was fully accepted for only a few diseases in early nineteenth century America (notably for measles, smallpox, and typhus fever). As Ackerknecht has put it:

. . . in the first half of the nineteenth century, that is shortly before their final and overwhelming victory, the theories of contagion and the contagium vivum experienced the deepest depression and devaluation in their long and stormy career, and it was shortly before its disappearance that "anticontagionism" reached its highest peak of elaboration, acceptance, and scientific respectability.⁷

The remaining epidemiological principles, the epidemic constitution and miasmata, were classical heirlooms from Hippocrates and Galen. The epidemic constitution of the atmosphere, involving mysterious influences on public health from such remote factors as celestial events and other obscure, uncomprehended occurrences, declined in popularity as an epidemiological

principle as the nineteenth century advanced. However, variations on this ancient theme were being worked even up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The miasmatic doctrine, and its many variants, asserted that numerous diseases were caused by inhalation of some form of gaseous poison, produced by decay of organic materials and filth, and was very widely accepted.

A glance at the etiological sections in American books and journals of these decades (1850-1880) shows that the old miasmatic and atmospheric theories were still of paramount importance. The familiar explanations recur with monotonous regularity, involving miasmata, epidemic constitution, ozone, poisonous gases, and similar items.⁸

It is pertinent to inquire how the environment was perceived with an essentially environmental interpretation of disease causation. The general division was made, then as now, of the human ambient environment into organic and inorganic sectors. The organic sector included all life forms then known but, of course, included few microbial forms and ascribed no pathogenic significance to them. However, plants and animals were seen as giving rise to substances that could decompose, or partially decompose, and thereby contribute toxins to the air, soil, or ground and surface water, that were capable of producing morbid effects. Refuse and filth of various types were widely considered to be another source of such toxins. Insects were hardly considered elements of the organic environment and never as transmitters of diseases. There was also no awareness of any animal vectors.

At this pre-germ theory period, the inorganic environment was also generally viewed somewhat differently from today. Most of the same major and minor earth materials were, of course, seen as comprising the solid, liquid, and gaseous components of the inorganic environment. Given the prevalent miasmatic view that air and water were the natural media of supposed disease-causing substances, both air and water were considered of primary importance. Of course, we now know that infectious agents reach healthy persons through airborne droplets and via contaminated water. The air, together with other components of the inorganic environment, may also harbor disease-causing insect vectors. However, in the absence of comprehensive understanding of the infecting agencies, the old concern with air and water in terms of supposed toxins of the environment was incorrect. Nineteenth century investigators also attempted to understand the pathogenic role of atmospheric electricity, magnetism, diathermancy, inert atmospheric gases, carbon dioxide, ozone, and other factors now ascribed limited or specialized significance.⁹

In addition, nineteenth century students of environment-disease linkages suspected significant influences on public health from the condition of inorganic earth materials whether damp or dry, free-draining or prone to waterlogging, as well as their mineral composition. Thus, for example, early

in the California gold-rush, many believed that the gold-bearing earth of the state could not give rise to the emanations supposed to cause cholera. Alternatively, others attributed the prevalence of malaria around Sacramento to the gold miners' disturbing the earth and thereby releasing miasmata.¹⁰

It has been pointed out that the study of climate-health relationships, later to be known as medical climatology, was one of the first forms of medical investigation ever conducted in America. Colonial physicians, between 1720 and the 1770's, made studies of the long-postulated relationship between local diseases and environments.¹¹ Such inquiries were outgrowths of the neo-Hippocratic interest in environment, then popular in English medical circles, from whence American medicine at that time drew its inspiration.

According to Cassedy, Cadwallader Colden was probably the first observer in Anglo-America who had meteorological instruments (thermometer and barometer). Colden conducted studies in Philadelphia and New York City and, like other European observers, was struck by the climatic variety of North America. He was also, like other outsiders, impressed with the salubrity of the climatic influences. Thus about 1720 Colden wrote:

The air of the country being always clear, . . . we have few consumptions or diseases of the lungs. . . . People inclined to be consumptive in England, are often perfectly cured by our fine air.¹²

Another very early medical climatological inquiry was conducted by Dr. John Lining in Charleston in 1737. Lining's research goal was to

arrive at some more certain knowledge of the causes of our Epidemic Diseases, which . . . regularly return at these Stated Seasons, . . . and therefore must proceed from some general cause operating uniformly in the returning different Seasons.¹³

It should be noted that the eighteenth century revival of Hippocratic influence in English medicine that inspired these pioneer American studies was partly a result of the translation into English in 1734 of Hippocrates' works. However, Hippocrates' ideas had long been familiar in western Europe and were earlier freely accessible in Latin. Probably more important in reviving classical concern with environmental disease causation was the work of contemporary medical researchers, especially Thomas Sydenham (1624-89), the "English Hippocrates." Sydenham, the founder of modern epidemiology and clinical medicine, placed special emphasis on climatic and seasonal causes of disease.

As a partial result of the Hippocratic revival, during the eighteenth century there was much discussion on both sides of the Atlantic regarding the possible influence of environment, especially from soil and climate, on social and economic conditions in America.¹⁴ While the discussion mainly concerned topics such as national character and social and political organiza-

tion, the influence of environment on public health was also the subject of debate and speculation. All manner of opinions were advanced. Some, like the Comte de Buffon (1707-88), took a negative view of the American habitat and blamed the climate for its limitations, thus:

Here the Earth never saw her surface adorned with these rich crops, which demonstrate her fecundity, and constitute the opulence of polished nations. In this abandoned condition, everything languishes, corrupts and proves abortive. The air, the earth, overloaded with humid and noxious vapours, are unable either to purify themselves, or to profit by the influence of the Sun, who darts in vain his most enlivening rays upon this frigid mass, which is not in a condition to make suitable returns to his ardour. Its powers are limited to the production of moist plants, reptiles, and insects, and can afford nourishment only to cold and feeble animals.¹⁵

Other students of the American environment, like Dr. William Currie (1754-1828) in his extensive and careful book *An Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the United States of America . . . Collected Principally from Personal Observation and the Communications of Physicians of Talents and Experience, Residing in the Several States* published in 1792, concluded that America was highly favored and possessed an uniquely healthful climatic endowment.¹⁶ Still others, like the celebrated American physician Benjamin Rush (1745?-1813), declared in 1790 in a rather ambiguous study, that "Perhaps no climate or country is unhealthy, where men acquire from experience, or tradition, the arts of accommodating themselves to it."¹⁷

There thus existed at the end of the eighteenth century a well-established and widely-diverged controversy on the fundamental subject of the relationship between climate and health in America. The need for some resolution of the controversy was obviously desirable and was urged in 1793 by Nicholas Collin in his "Essay on Those Inquiries in Natural Philosophy, Which at Present are Most Beneficial to the United States of America."¹⁸ Collin's paper contained a plea for the development of weather forecasting for health and other reasons. While this was not the first such plea for a systematic investigation of climate and health, it evoked a prompt response and succeeding issues of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* contained numerous papers dealing with the topic.

During the first part of the nineteenth century, American medical practice was in a parlous condition. The general acceptance of anticon-tagionist views, and the fruitless preoccupation with miasmata and epidemic constitutions, denied the practicing physician any helpful theoretical basis of therapeutic action. All that were available for doctors were untestable innovations or traditional procedures, many of which were revolting, painful, and even highly dangerous for sick persons. Copious bleeding, for instance, was an extremely common treatment for a great many diseases. Many

doctors also almost routinely administered violent purgatives by way of treatment for numerous conditions. Both practices were declining by 1850 and were largely discontinued after the 1870's. Such "heroic" treatments were often directly or indirectly fatal for the patient. As Shryock observed "no one will ever know just what impact heroic practice had on American vital statistics: therapy was never listed among the causes of death."¹⁹ Quite rightly, early nineteenth century physicians were widely distrusted as ineffective and even positively harmful.

Adding to the public's distrust of doctors in the first part of the last century was the lack of regulation or standards in the medical profession. Almost anybody, with or without medical training, could practice medicine. California was notably lax at this period in regard to professional regulation. "No law regulates the healing arts in the land of gold. The practice of medicine and pharmacy is absolutely free and unlimited, and the first comer can take up either or both."²⁰ Furthermore, doctors, trained and untrained, were divided into a large number of often hostile and competitive factions—allopaths, botanicals, eclectics, faith healers, homeopaths, hydropaths, indianopaths, mesmerists, regulars, Thompsonians, and others. Each had a different therapeutic methodology but shared a common ineffectuality. The popular regard for medicine, both orthodox and unorthodox, sank to unprecedented lows. "One can scarcely conceive of an honorable profession reduced to a lower ebb than that of medicine in the U.S.," wrote one dispirited doctor in 1864.²¹

The thoroughly rational fear and distrust of the ineffective and dangerous medical treatments led to what has been called "medical nihilism" in which healing was largely left to nature.²² But sick people wanted something besides natural healing processes as an alternative to bleeding and purging. Therapeutic demands thus developed which were partly met by a bewildering assortment of fringe medical systems, promising drastic cures and usually by relatively gentle means. During the last century, and into the present, there was intense enthusiasm in America for unorthodox and quack medical practices. Quack medicines and devices that claimed to cure almost every disease also enjoyed great popularity. Faith healing, while hardly new in the nineteenth century, also seems to have been a beneficiary of the discrediting of medical orthodoxy. It is probably not coincidental that Christian Science had its origins in the 1860's.

Both orthodox and unorthodox practitioners catered to the public demand for alternative therapies to bleeding and purging by adoption of climate therapy. Climatotherapy represented a somewhat ambiguous accommodation to "medical nihilism" while exploiting a possibly valuable therapeutic principle. For example, in the case of tuberculosis, climatotherapy was viewed even by skeptics as being no worse than harmless and possibly adding to the patients' comfort. The occasional cures of consumption that were reported were usually attributed to climate or open-air living. In general,

climatotherapy represented a plausible and gentle form of therapy on which the factionalized medical profession could at least partly agree. It might also be noted that dispatch to a remote location for health reasons was also a convenient way by which a doctor could rid himself of troublesome or incurable patients.

A consequence of the developing interest in climatotherapy was the seeking by invalids of treatment in new environments through travel. There is considerable evidence to show that travel-cures were popular early in the last century. Thus, referring to Independence, Missouri, in the 1830's, it was noted that:

... at this "starting point," besides traders and tourists, a number of pale-faced invalids are generally to be met with. The Prairies have, in fact, become very celebrated for their sanative effects—more justly so, no doubt, than the most fashionable watering-places of the North. Most chronic diseases, particularly liver complaints, dyspepsias, and similar affections, are often radically cured; owing, no doubt, to the peculiarities of diet, and the regular exercise incident to prairie life, as well as to the purity of the atmosphere of those elevated unembarrassed regions. As invalid myself, I can answer to the efficacy of the remedy, at least in my own case.²³

By mid-nineteenth century, travel-cures and climatotherapy were increasingly believed to have undeveloped potential. The transition from older therapeutic orthodoxies to the newer and wider use of climatotherapy is illustrated by the remarks of Dr. Daniel Drake (1785-1852). Thus, typifying an awareness of the limitations of even the better orthodox medical science apparent to more honest and reflective physicians, Drake observed in 1850 that,

Every practical physician is aware of the frequent failure of all kinds of medications... and of the great value of cool and fresh air... united with active exercise, simple diet, new scenery, and disuse of all medicine.²⁴

Dr. Drake attached high importance to climate in his etiological thinking, too, and he asserted that climatic influences could be exciting or predisposing causes of a large number of diseases. Drake also averred that climatic changes were able to cure some diseases but prevent the cure of others.²⁵

The influential Dr. Drake was, by 1850, strongly advocating travel to new and more healthful environments for sufferers from a wide array of different diseases. Chronic sufferers from malaria were recommended to seek escape from their torments by "wandering in the desert west of the Mississippi" where malaria was supposed not to be endemic.²⁶ Drake believed too that journeys to the west or southwest would be "radically curative and reinvigorating influences."²⁷ Similar views had been advanced eight years before publication of Drake's monumental *Treatise* by William Wood Gerhard, who noted in 1842 in regard to pulmonary tuberculosis that "nothing is so efficacious as a journey, with its necessary consequences, a

change of air.”²⁸ (Even fifty years later, American doctors were still saying the same thing: “the air of any place is better for the patient than that in which he grew ill.”)²⁹

Thus the banner of modern climatotherapy was unfurled. The new, or rather refurbished, therapeutics were represented as a gentle, natural mode of treatment, in which the inherent qualities of the geographical environment performed healing unattainable through mere human skills. Such climate cures involved either temporary travel or permanent relocation in an appropriate environment. Accordingly, it became fashionable for doctors to prescribe sea voyages or extensive overland journeys.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, climatotherapeutic refinements were achieved whereby a modified form of climate cure could be obtained even without travel. To this end, numerous appliances were devised that permitted a patient to obtain the supposedly beneficial environmental influences artificially. Thus, usually with some sort of mask or chamber, equipment was devised that would subject a patient temporarily to increased or lowered atmospheric pressure, various degrees of air humidity, and so forth. Some of the more *outré* climatotherapists developed appliances for the artificial generation of electricity, “magnetism,” and other mysterious atmospheric factors.³⁰

Climatotherapy thus presented an acceptable, and by no means entirely worthless, mode of treatment to a medical profession in disarray, seeking to replace crude and discredited methods. It was considered particularly helpful in the treatment of tuberculosis, that most tragically widespread and fatal of nineteenth century diseases.³¹ Indeed, for a long time orthodox doctors had little else to offer consumptives but the climate treatment, and this eventually was represented by many physicians as a specific cure. While we now know that no climate is a specific for pulmonary tuberculosis, climatotherapy had certain merit and was surely vastly superior to some of the bizarre treatments to which desperate consumptives submitted themselves. An egregious example of such treatments was reported in a popular California farming magazine in 1880:

Between 200 and 300 men and women of St. Louis drink daily from half to a pint of blood piping hot from the veins of slaughtered cattle. More blood drinking by consumptives and aged persons is done in September and October than during the remainder of the year. The blood of young steers is the best, and should be caught as it comes from the animals, and should be drunk while the foam is still on and the steam rising. Consumptives are advised, in addition to drinking blood, to sit in a slaughterhouse for a couple of hours each day at killing time to inhale the “steam” of the running blood.³²

Great numbers of invalid Americans thus journeyed far and wide in search of climate cures, especially consumptives and patients suffering from various vague conditions such as “general debility.” Such health travel was

facilitated by the new means of transportation becoming available and the opening of the West. Some invalids traveled abroad, especially to the Mediterranean area, in search of environmental therapy. But most headed for the South, the Southwest, and California.³³ Indeed, so numerous were the consumptive migrants to California that at one period consideration was given to restricting their entry to the state.

Because of historical circumstances, California did not come to the attention of American medical scientists until relatively late. However, once established in California, Americans quickly developed an interest in the supposed bases of the vaunted "salubrity" that had glamorized the area from the beginning and built California's unique reputation as an area somehow blessed above all others with properties of healthfulness.³⁴ Following lines of inquiry laid down as early as Colonial times, investigation of the climate-health relationships began even before California became part of the Union.

Mounting national interest at this period in the assumed linkages between climate and health, including climatotherapy, also encouraged examination of California's benign but diversified environment which seemed especially promising for comparative study. Thus, Logan observed that, "In California particularly does such a system of investigation possess great interest, more especially than in any other new country, not only on account of its remarkable configuration of surface, and the varieties of climate met with within its area, but also because of the rapid transition stages, transpiring before our eyes, between the rudeness of the first settlements and the more refined conditions of countries long subjected to civilization."³⁵ And similarly, "... no State or country presents greater opportunities for careful investigation of this subject, in its connection with the study of disease, and the various influences which modify the same and constantly keep the physician on the *qui vive* in making his selection of remedies for its successful treatment."³⁶

As elsewhere at this period, investigations of climate-health relationships in California were usually conducted under the rubric of medical climatology and medical topography. A considerable number of such investigations was conducted in the state, mainly between about 1860 and 1900. After the turn of the century, the inherent and drastic limitations of climatotherapy began to be realized and by World War I the subject virtually ceased to be considered.

Medical climatological investigators were generally less than totally objective; that is, the typical investigator seemed to have been motivated to conduct research on medical climatology because of a conviction that climate does have great pathological and therapeutic significance rather than in a spirit of free inquiry. Many claimed open-mindedness on the matter of climate-health interrelations—but usually went on to display their partisanship. Negatively prejudiced investigators, or even negative research findings

were almost non-existent. Medical climatological investigators had a lofty goal: nothing less than a geographical analysis of nearly all disease. The impossibility of attaining this goal hardly needs mention, considering that the etiology of most diseases at that time was either unknown, grossly misunderstood, or at best, only imperfectly comprehended.

Other problems compounded the difficulties of the medical climatologists. The purely climatological side of the investigations was dauntingly complicated. A bewildering array of only partly understood climatic phenomena demanded attention. Furthermore, the climate data were meager in quantity and uneven in quality, as well as most limited in duration and distribution. In addition, on the medical side, there were no complete data available on morbidity and mortality except on a very local basis.³⁷ Thus, lacking adequate etiological knowledge, with only scanty climatic data and vital statistics, the products of medical climatological research were characteristically vague, subjective, ambiguous, and sometimes downright contradictory. Considering the constraints under which the investigators worked, they could hardly have been otherwise. Clinical experience added some substance to the studies, but without understanding of disease-causation, medical climatology was doomed to subjectivity and particularism.

The high interest in medical climatology that was sustained in California for over half a century produced a plethora of materials dealing with the real and imagined health benefits of that state's climate. In addition, climatotherapeutic information must have been very frequently communicated by word of mouth. Much medical climatological material remains in printed form in the medical and paramedical press, official reports, and non-scientific magazines, especially those catering to interests in agriculture and rural life. The climate cure message was even (but perhaps most appropriately) transmitted in works of fiction.³⁸

Writings on the subject of medical climatology in California virtually defy classification and generalization, there being almost as many climatological viewpoints as there were authors. Some common features, however, may be detected. Virtually all agreed that most of California was endowed with a climate that was not only *ipso facto* healthful but also possessed special therapeutic properties. Some negative comments were occasionally expressed about the northern coastal region but on occasion even these were controverted. Thus: "San Francisco has been spoken of as possessing a climate very unfavorable to consumptives, and especially have the high winds and cold fogs of summer been blamed for this evil influence upon chest diseases. Now that we have the record before us, we can make something like a positive denial of such assertions."³⁹

Detailing the elements of salubrity and therapeutic worth that made California the "sanatorium of the world"⁴⁰ was an individualistic exercise.

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✱ By writing the history and present symptoms of your disease, and inclosing one dollar, you will receive a candid opinion as to the probabilities of your regaining your health in this climate ; also, information concerning the most comfortable route to take, cost of living and the proper location favorable to the improvement of your special case. * * * *Best of References given.* * * *

From Warner Brothers California Excursion Association—an advertisement in
Southern California; A Semi-Tropic Paradise.

Of course, practically all repeated the dictum that important linkages existed between environment and disease, with climate probably constituting the controlling factor. The extent of the assumed climatic influence was often quite inclusive and for some even took in mental disorders. For example, "The climate of California is said to aid, in some way, the production of insanity,"⁴¹ and, "It is the peculiar condition of the nervous system, probably produced by the electrical condition of the air, that causes so much insanity in California."⁴² After making obeisance to the Hippocratic idol, the medical climatologist typically discussed a number of climatic elements in terms of the location or disease under consideration. The work of many of these environment-health investigators in California was influenced by Alexander von Humboldt.⁴³ Thus, besides the examination of climatic factors, Humboldts' ideas of the harmony of nature and a Humboldtian cataloging of flora, fauna, geography, geology, population, etc., are evident in many studies.

The examination, or even the mere listing, of climatic elements judged to be significant varied widely, since such judgments were of necessity subjective.⁴⁴ The influential Daniel Drake had defined "climate" in terms of the atmosphere's heat, light, electricity, vapor, fog, mist, cloud, dew, rain, hail, frost, snow, weight, density, winds and gases and mechanical properties.⁴⁵ California medical climatologists generally addressed themselves to a shorter list of factors but even this was quite lengthy. Besides the standard elements of climate such as temperature, humidity, pressure, wind force and direction, and insolation (for which data were most likely to be available), other factors such as ozone, diathermancy, light intensity, electricity, and magnetism (for which few or no data were available) were wistfully considered as possibly significant. Not infrequently, Humboldtian zeal caused medical climatologists to consider such extraneous factors as soil type, water

supply, and even temperament in conjunction with climate. Free-draining soils were generally considered most conducive to good public health; cold, damp soils were regarded as unhealthful. Soft drinking water was almost invariably favored over hard.

All in all, equability and reliability were generally considered the main climatic desiderata. Ideally the climate was supposed to remain permanently close to some assumed optimum. As one writer put it, the "thermal standard of 60°, which experience has proved to be best adapted for either the preservation of health, or for its restoration when impaired."⁴⁶ Further, the perfect climate should combine this temperature with equability of humidity (differences of opinion concerned the appropriate humidity levels), constant or not too variable winds, and a minimum departure from these climatic conditions.

Reasonably systematic and comprehensive medical climatological studies, as opposed to individual generalizations, began in California in the 1850's with the formation of a state medical society.⁴⁷ The constitution of this organization provided for a Committee on Medical Topography, Meteorology, Endemics, and Epidemics, that was required to report annually on "the peculiarity of the soil and climate of the different sections of the State, with the diseases to which they are subject."⁴⁸

Investigative work actually began the same year the committee was established when Dr. Logan, secretary of the California State Medical Society, circularized all physicians and others "interested in the advancement of Science" with the request for ". . . authentic information respecting the topography and climatic characteristics of the several localities or regions in California. . . ." Logan urged the collection of such information on the Hippocratic grounds that as diseases were in part ". . . the effect of causes strictly appertaining to the physical characteristics of the country, it becomes necessary, to an appreciation of their influence, that these be carefully reviewed and synthetically examined."⁴⁹ Dr. Logan advocated the systematic collection of climate data in conformity with standards prescribed by the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, D.C., in connection with the Smithsonian Institution, and appended an example of a form for recording weather information. The weather elements to be observed and recorded consisted of atmospheric pressure (using a barometer), temperature (using a thermometer), air humidity (using a wet and dry bulb psychrometer), and precipitation (preferably using a rain gauge). Logan also urged the recording of observations on "casual phenomena" such as thunderstorms, lightening, meteors, time of early and late frosts, and other items.

First results from the medical society's activities appeared in 1859 under the title "Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California."⁵⁰ Climatology was stressed in Logan's report, actually under the heading of "meteorology," and included much descriptive material outlining such features as temperature regimes, and data on humidity, cloudiness,

winds, precipitation, and barometric pressure. Considerable graphic and tabular data were contained in the report including a graph correlating "Monthly Means of Barometer and monthly Mortality by certain Diseases in 1850 and '52."

Most of the Logan report deals with the epidemics of California in the 1850's insofar as they were supposedly related to factors of the environment. The associative features of disease and environment brought out in the report, such as they are, are all quite subjective and in no way even begin to approach the stated objectives of the investigation:

... that a knowledge of the *etiology of diseases* can best be attained by studying the affections of different localities in connection with every condition and circumstance calculated to operate prejudicially or otherwise upon the health of the inhabitants. Such philosophical investigation is particularly useful in tracing the modifications diseases may undergo from the agency of causes of a local or special character; and being also calculated to elucidate the relationship of diseases to climate, to the prevailing geological formations—the fauna, the vegetables, the minerals, the waters, which vary with the earth's crust, wherever man can make his abode, commends itself to the pioneer physicians of our extended territory.⁵¹

If Logan's work fell ludicrously short of its goals, it should be remembered that it was indeed a pioneering effort. What then of the later studies, when data were more abundant and pathological understanding greater? In fact, the later works continued in the same diffuse and subjective vein that characterized the earlier.⁵² To illustrate this, another example may be taken, this time a specific study of Southern California which broadly typifies regional medical climatology. This study, by a Dr. Frank D. Bullard, won a prize from the California State Medical Society and represents the more restrained genre of climatotherapeutic research.⁵³

Bullard's paper started out with the ritual declaration of faith: "... in order to understand the disorders to which any region is prone, it is necessary to be acquainted with its meteorology."⁵⁴ However, in order to secure this meteorological understanding, Bullard, in a manner typical of most investigators in his field, attenuated the array of climate factors usually acknowledged or suspected to have etiological significance. In fact, Bullard concerned himself mainly with the conventional ingredients of climate—temperature, humidity, and pressure. His study outlined the main characteristics of the Southern California climate in terms of the rather obvious significance of temperature and humidity for human comfort. Most of Bullard's comments on the relationship between climate and health are either fairly obvious aspects of human physiology and metabolism or simple assertions lacking supporting evidence.

Where Bullard gets into the question of causality he is, of course, at even greater disadvantage, and is merely speculating or at best drawing on empirical knowledge. Thus, what Bullard calls "inflammatory diseases of

the air-passages" are stated to be most prevalent in the damp, cool season. Erysipelas, neuralgia, and rheumatism are designated mainly winter afflictions, exacerbated by "on-shore wet winds." The pains of rheumatic patients are worsened, one may read, by atmospheric pressure changes affecting "nerve-pressure." Renal patients were judged by Dr. Bullard to be favored by the Southern California climate because the "skin is freely active, the greater part of the year, in supplying the copious insensible perspiration which the thirsty air demands." Furthermore, the "equability and evenness of the weather prevent those sudden chills which every now and then in harsher climates throw double eliminative work on these already wearied organs."⁵⁵ Aided as we are by hindsight, it is easy to see how Bullard's point of view colored his interpretations, and it is almost painful to read his prejudiced conclusions. It comes almost as a relief to find the common-sense assertion that the cool Southern California nights favor refreshing sleep and are therefore therapeutically valuable.⁵⁶

Throughout the entire period when medical climatology was in vogue in California, considerable attention was devoted to various forms of regional climatic description. In some cases, especially in the early years, this took the form of climatic data compilation. Generally, such data were supplemented by descriptive material, usually pointing up the more benign features of weather and climate, and adding some more or less intuitive or deductive conclusions based on information provided by local residents, invalids, and physicians. Local patriotism and the rampant boosterism of California led to extravagant and unsupported climatological claims for many localities. The following examples are taken from medical literature:

This whole region [Southern California] enjoys an immunity from any endemic diseases. . . . From my personal observation I can say that at least an extra ten years' lease of life is gained by a removal to this coast from the Eastern States. . . .⁵⁷

. . . persons who come here afflicted with fever and ague, rarely have more than two or three attacks. They soon become well, often even, without the use of anti-periodics. The climate seems sufficient to cure the malady.⁵⁸

The most remarkable fact in regard to this region [Santa Barbara] is the seeming impossibility for epidemics to visit it.⁵⁹

This from a non-medical source:

The facts are that no one can take up a long residence in this county [Los Angeles] . . . who is not immediately relieved, while many pronounce themselves cured.⁶⁰

Some boosters were motivated by self-interest, and many extravagant health claims were therefore made for business reasons, but so pervasive and insistent were the health claims of California that hyperbolic statements on public health conditions often seem to have been made out of misguided optimism rather than cynical deception.

Boosterism seems to have been a general characteristic of medical climatology. Thus, under the entry "Climatic Treatment" in a medical reference work it is noted, "At the recent Congress of Medico-Climatology Auxiliary of the World's Fair, reports were presented from widely separated districts—high, low, island, and seaboard, both within and without the boundaries of the United States—which were so fulsome in praise of each special locality reported on that the listener, without a settled basis of judgment as to preferable climatic attributes, naturally comes to the conclusion that nothing is left to be desired. This is absurd and leads to confusion."⁶¹

Grandiose claims were made for the entire field of climatotherapy. Dr. Frederick I. Knight, in his opening address to the first meeting of the American Climatological Association in 1884, declared that, "Climate is . . . just as potent in working changes in other parts of the economy [the bodily system] as in the domain of the respiratory organs. . . ."⁶² The prediction was even made that in the future climatotherapy would be ". . . reduced to a mathematical certainty, [and] all that will be required to make therapeutical climatology available, will be to turn to the topographical and climatological tables."⁶³ Similar optimistic confidence in climatotherapeutic methods was expressed by Dr. S. Edwin Solly who went so far as to say:

It is hardly too much to say that it is possible to prescribe a climate with as much precision as a drug, and with far greater effect in appropriate cases.⁶⁴

Considering the subjectivity and vagueness that characterized medical climatological writing, and above all, the lack of either therapeutic or investigative results, it is surprising that these studies were in vogue for such a long time. Of course, the germ theory of disease dealt medical climatology a blow from which it never recovered. But the death of this sub-field of medicine was by no means sudden. It coexisted for years with the germ theory.⁶⁵ Adaptations were even made to the principles of Listerism. It was asserted, for example, that at Santa Barbara certain diseases did not occur because "some antiseptic property in the climate has prevented contagion."⁶⁶

The vitality of the climatotherapeutic myth was in part due to its high plausibility. It seemed to explain local conditions of public health as well as many individual cases of disease and cure. This plausibility was reinforced by its long-established place in medical tradition. Persistence of belief in climatic therapeutics may also be attributed to the kind of appeal that medical quackery seems to hold—not that the medical climatologists were quacks, for most probably saw themselves as sincere seekers after an elusive truth. However, medical climatology seemed to have a cultist type of appeal in promising the chimera of health and happiness through an insightful adaptation to natural conditions.

All these were strong appeals, and suggest something of the character of those concerned with medical climatology. Thus, even with appropriate

respect to the honest investigators involved, medical climatology did not seem to engage the best minds.⁶⁷ Typically, the medical climatologists were traditionalists; in a time of drastic change, they were slow to accept innovations. In addition, many of the more fervent medical climatologists were drawn from the laity and lacked scientific training. For example, a layman, C. M. Plumb, designed criteria for appraising health resorts. San Diego met all the requirements.⁶⁸ As the nineteenth century advanced, traditionalist doctors and zealous amateurs were increasingly prominent in medical climatological inquiry, presumably as the progressive medical investigators followed the new research trails revealed by bacteriologists and laboratory experimentation.

The medical climatologists of California were, as we now know, chasing will-o'-the-wisps. True, there were some modest direct and indirect benefits for certain types of invalids in mild, sunny climates such as occur in much of the state. But not even the most favored areas of California were pathogenic vacuums or were capable of working therapeutic miracles. What California actually offered was the possibility of a change of scene and livelihood, and perhaps some physical and psychic benefits that could enhance the *vis medicatrix naturae*. Climate cures did seem to occur, perhaps to be explained through misdiagnosis, psychosomatic factors, or the "natural healing force." On the basis of remarkably little evidence, so much confidence developed that climatotherapy was believed by many to be a specific for some diseases during the heyday of the climate-and-health era in the late nineteenth century.

Climatotherapy is not completely defunct, but retains a limited place in medical treatment. Attempts are still made to systematize climate therapeutics but such efforts belong mainly to the "fringe" categories of medicine.⁶⁹ But during the nineteenth century medical science had little to offer many sick persons and the chance of a climate cure could not be overlooked. The lure of health through climate proved a mirage, but it constituted a significant episode not only in American medicine but also in the settlement of California.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the Hippocratic influence on medical thought see Genevieve Miller, "Airs, Waters, and Places in History," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XVII (1962), 129-140.

2. For a discussion of some of these supposed external health factors as related to nineteenth century California see Kenneth Thompson, "Insalubrious California: Perception and Reality," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LIX (1969), 50-64, and Kenneth Thompson, "Irrigation as a Menace to Health in California," *Geographical Review*, LIX (1969), 195-214.

3. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California* (Philadelphia, 1859), 12.

4. *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, trans. by F. Adams (Baltimore, 1939), 19.

5. P. A. Richmond, "American Attitudes Toward the Germ Theory of Disease

(1860-1880)," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, IX (1954), 428-454.

6. C. E. A. Winslow and others, *The History of American Epidemiology* (St. Louis, 1952), 45.

7. E. H. Ackerknecht, "Anticontagionism Between 1821 and 1867," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXII (1948), 565.

8. Richmond, "Attitudes Toward the Germ Theory," 428.

9. These etiological attitudes are mirrored in Alexander von Humboldt's 1845 definition that climate "taken in its most general sense, indicates all the changes in the atmosphere which sensibly affect our organs, as temperature, humidity, variations in barometrical pressure, the calm state of the air or the action of opposite winds, the amount of electric tension, the purity of the atmosphere or its admixture with more or less noxious gaseous exhalations, and, finally, the degree of ordinary transparency and clearness of the sky, which is not only important with respect to the increased radiation from the Earth, the organic development of plants, and the ripening of fruits, but also with reference to its influence on the feelings and mental condition of men." Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (New York, 1855), I, 317-318.

10. G. W. Groh, *Gold Fever* (New York, 1966), 207-208.

11. James H. Cassedy, "Meteorology and Medicine in Colonial America: Beginnings of the Experimental Approach," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XXIV (1969), 197-198.

12. Cadwallader Colden, "Account of the Climate and Diseases of New York," *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, I (1810-11), 304-310.

13. John Lining quoted in Joseph I. Waring, *A History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825* (Charleston, 1964), 256.

14. This subject is well treated in Gilbert Chinard, "Eighteenth Century Theories on America as a Human Habitat," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCI (1947), 27-57.

15. *Ibid.*, 32.

16. William Currie, *An Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the United States of America . . . Collected Principally from Personal Observation and the Communications of Physicians of Talents and Experience, Residing in the Several States* (Philadelphia, 1792).

17. Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia, 1794), I, 121.

18. Nicholas Collin, "An Essay on Those Inquiries in Natural Philosophy, Which at Present are Most Beneficial to the United States of North America," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, III (1793), iii-xxvii.

19. R. H. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660-1860* (New York, 1960), 112.

20. *A Medical Journey in California by Dr. Pierre Garnier* [first published in 1854], trans. by L. Lay Oliva (Los Angeles, 1967), 64.

21. T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (reprinted, New York, 1937), 225-227.

22. R. H. Shryock, *Medicine in America* (Baltimore, 1966), 16.

23. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* [originally published in 1844], ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman, Okla., 1954), 23.

24. Daniel Drake, *A Systematic Treatise, Historical, Etiological, and Practical, on*

the *Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America as They Appear in the Caucasian, African, Indian, and Esquimaux Varieties of its Population* (Cincinnati, 1850), 397.

25. See Daniel Drake, "General Etiology," in *A Systematic Treatise*; N. Doetsch, "Daniel Drake's Aetiological Views," *Medical History*, IX (1965), 365-373.

26. Daniel Drake, "General Etiology."

27. *Ibid.*

28. W. W. Gerhard, *Lectures on the Diagnosis, Pathology, and Treatment of Diseases of the Chest* (Philadelphia, 1842), 52.

29. W. A. Edwards, "The Climate of Southern California in Relation to Disease," *The Climatologist* (August, 1891), 6.

30. For an example see A. E. Brune, "The Use of Pneumomatic Apparatus in Chronic Lung Diseases," *Pacific Medical Journal*, XXIII (1880), 97-104.

31. Altitude therapy was for long particularly favored for tuberculosis sufferers. For a discussion of this form of treatment see F. B. Rogers, "The Rise and Decline of the Altitude Therapy of Tuberculosis," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, LXIII (1969), 1-16.

32. *The Pacific Rural Press*, July 31, 1880, 71.

33. The migration of tuberculosis sufferers to the Southwest and to California is very well covered in Billy M. Jones, *Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900* (Norman, Okla., 1967), and J. E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino, Calif., 1959).

34. Examples of the roseate view of California occur in a popular book published eight years before the Mexican Cession of 1848. California was described as "... blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic, ..." Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York, 1840), 163. Similarly, in 1845, it was noted that in California "... disease of any kind is very seldom known, in any portion of the country, ..." L. W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (reproduced in facsimile, Princeton, 1932), 85. Again, in 1849, "... there will be no land on earth that can compare with California with respect to its wonderful climate, the excellent health of its inhabitants, ..." J. Praslow, *The State of California: A Medico-Geographical Account*, trans. by F. C. Cordes (San Francisco, 1939), 86.

35. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California* (Philadelphia, 1859), 1.

36. Washington Ayer, M.D., "Topography and Meteorology," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1880-1881), 41.

37. In California, reasonably complete data did not become available until the present century.

38. An odd example of this was the novel by a San Diego physician and leading propagandist of climatotherapy in Southern California, P. C. Remondino, *Opposite Climates, or The Adventures of John Henry Smith from the Cradle to His Nuptials* (1891), cited in *Southern California Practitioner*, VI (1891), 300.

39. Henry Gibbons, Jr., M.D., "Mortuary Statistics of San Francisco Compared with Other Parts of the World," *Pacific Medical Journal*, I (1867), 74.

40. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., "Report of the Permanent Secretary," *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the Year 1870* (Sacramento, 1871), 3.

41. James Murphy, "Thesis on Insanity," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, III (1862), 132.

42. "Editor's Table," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, III (1862), 27.

43. J. B. de C. M. Saunders, "Geography and Geopolitics in California Medicine," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XLI (1967), 299 and *passim*.

44. Illustrative of the multifactorial convolutions into which medical climatology developed is afforded by the relatively late (1913) work by Gordon which implicated the following factors in medical climatological investigation: temperature, wind, rainfall, sunlight, electricity, atmospheric pressure, atmospheric humidity, and atmospheric purity. To this considerable number of factors, all of which are of course capable of varying in time and place, Gordon added eight "topographical" variables: latitude, geographical position, altitude, soil, vegetation, water supply, wind shelter and exposure, and aspect. Further dimensions of complexity were added by Gordon with the inclusion of "other factors sometimes requiring elimination" as follows: race, closeness of intermarriage, sex, age, occupation, density of population, poverty, sanitation, preventive measures against disease, prevalence of other disease connected in any way with the disease in question, and progressive change in prevalence with the lapse of time. These are not only numerous considerations, they are large ones in most instances. By the time that this book was written, medical climatology was almost defunct, a fact which Gordon deplored. As the above listing suggests, medical climatology had become the dinosaur of medical research modes. W. Gordon, M.D., *The Place of Climatology in Medicine* (London, 1913), 5.

45. Drake, *A Systematic Treatise*.

46. C. M. Fenn, "San Diego as a Health Resort," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1878-1879), 121.

47. In the 1850's California doctors tried to reproduce the organizational forms of the medical profession then current in the East by establishing local medical societies. Local societies were set up at first in Sacramento in 1850, then in San Francisco in 1853, and subsequently in other locations. The formation of a statewide medical society, the California State Medical Society, was achieved in 1856. No state medical society existed between 1860 and 1870 because of dissensions associated with the Civil War. See Henry Harris, *California Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), *passim*.

48. "Constitution of the Medical Society of the State of California," *Proceedings of the Convention of Medical Society of the State of California* (1856), 23.

49. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Circular* (Sacramento, 1856).

50. Logan, *Report on Medical Topography*, 1-58.

51. *Ibid.*, 1.

52. In 1863, during the hiatus in the existence of the California State Medical Society, at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, Dr. Logan was appointed chairman of a special committee on the medical topography of the Pacific coast thereby providing him with another official position from which to conduct investigations of environment-health relationships. Once again Logan circularized physicians and requested information on local geography, climatology, population, and vital statistics. "Editor's Table," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, V (1864), 82-84.

53. F. D. Bullard, M.D., "Climatology and Diseases of Southern California," *South-ern California Practitioner*, V (1890), 201-220.

54. *Ibid.*, 201.

55. *Ibid.*, 211.

56. *Ibid.*, 216.

57. P. C. Remondino, *The Mediterranean Shores of America: Southern California: Its Climatic, Physical, and Meteorological Conditions* (Philadelphia, 1882), 118.

58. M. H. Biggs, "Vital Statistics and Medical Topography of Santa Barbara," *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the years 1870 and 1871* (Sacramento, 1871), 76.

59. M. H. Biggs, "Medical Topography of Santa Barbara," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1870-1871), 134.

60. *The Resources of California*, III, No. 4, January 31, 1873.

61. Frank P. Fostre, M.D., ed., *Reference-Book of Practical Therapeutics* (New York, 1896), 260.

62. F. E. Knight, M.D., "Opening Address," *Transactions of the First Annual Meeting of the American Climatological Association held in the City of Washington, D.C. May 3 and 5, 1884* (1884), 2.

63. J. B. Trembly, "Report of the Committee on Medical Topography, Meteorology, Endemics, and Epidemics," *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal and Western Lancet*, XXIX (1886), 494.

64. S. Edwin Solly, M.D., *A Handbook of Medical Climatology* (Philadelphia and New York, 1897), vii.

65. Thus, "The existence of specific malarial poison (miasmata) is controverted, and epidemics of the severer sort are asserted to be contagious in disregard of climatological conditions by some, while others hold the current climate to be controlling, and the infection to be its incident only." Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* (Philadelphia, 1857), 454.

66. Biggs, *Medical Topography of Santa Barbara*, 76.

67. Dr. Thomas M. Logan (1808-1876) was a major figure in early California public health. He was the first secretary of the California State Board of Health and was the first Californian to become president of the American Medical Association. Logan was the first chairman of the Committee on Medical Topography and Epidemics of the California State Medical Society and was one of the leading medical climatologists of California. At his death it was said of Dr. Logan, "The Doctor possessed an exceedingly energetic disposition and a mind characterized more by tact and ready expedients than by depth of thought or profoundness of study." Harris, *California's Medical Story*, 154.

68. San Diego Chamber of Commerce, *Descriptive, Historical, Commercial, Agricultural, and other Important Information Relative to the City of San Diego, California* (San Diego, 1874), 21.

69. Modern examples of medical climatological works include: W. F. Petersen, J. S. Howe, and M. E. Milliken, *The Patient and the Weather* (Ann Arbor, 1935), 4 vols.; W. F. Petersen, *Hippocratic Wisdom* (Springfield, Illinois, 1946); S. Licht, ed., *Medical Climatology* (New Haven, 1964); S. W. Tromp, ed., *Medical Biometeorology* (New York, 1963).

THE SENSE OF THE 'SEVENTIES-

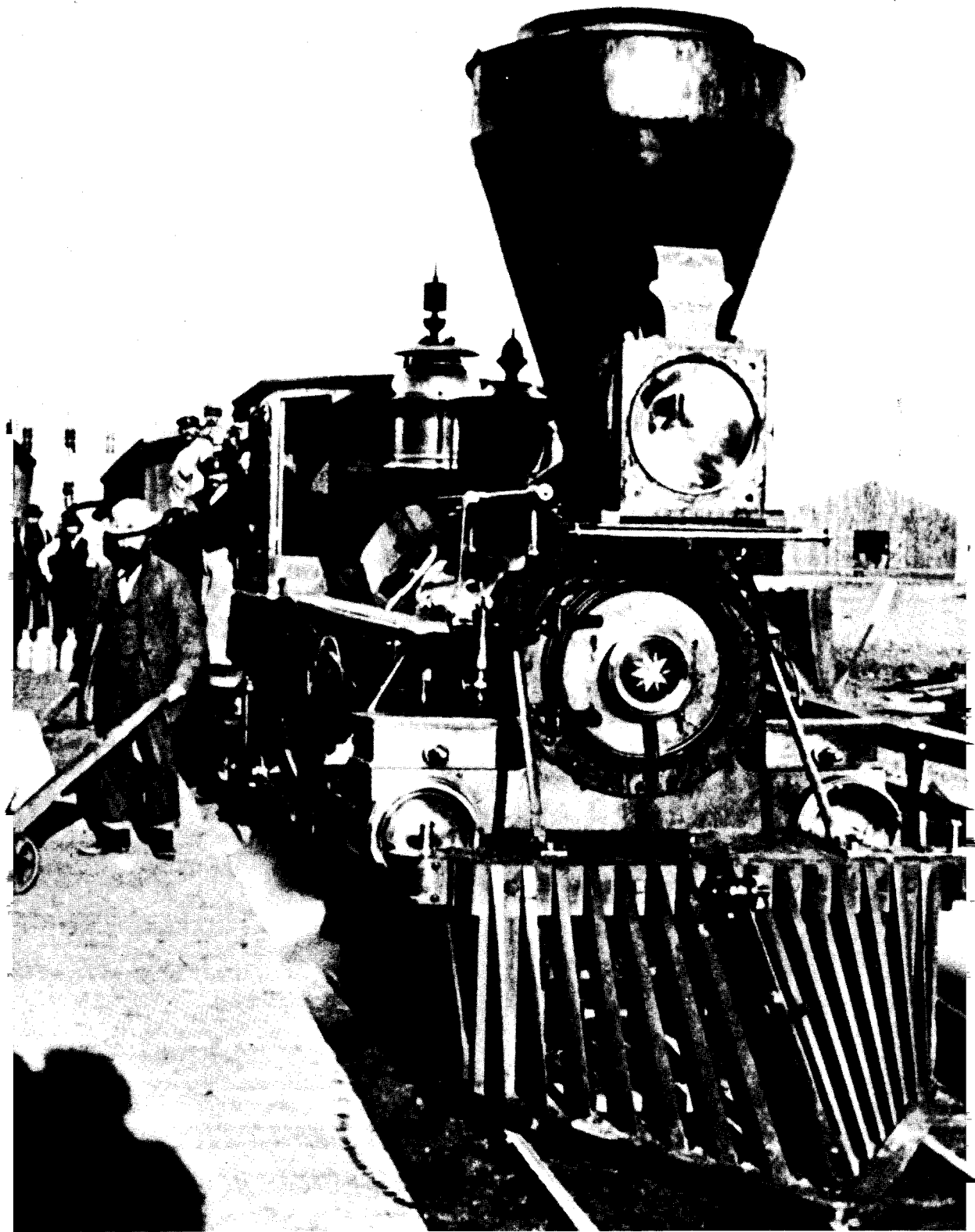
California 100 Years Ago

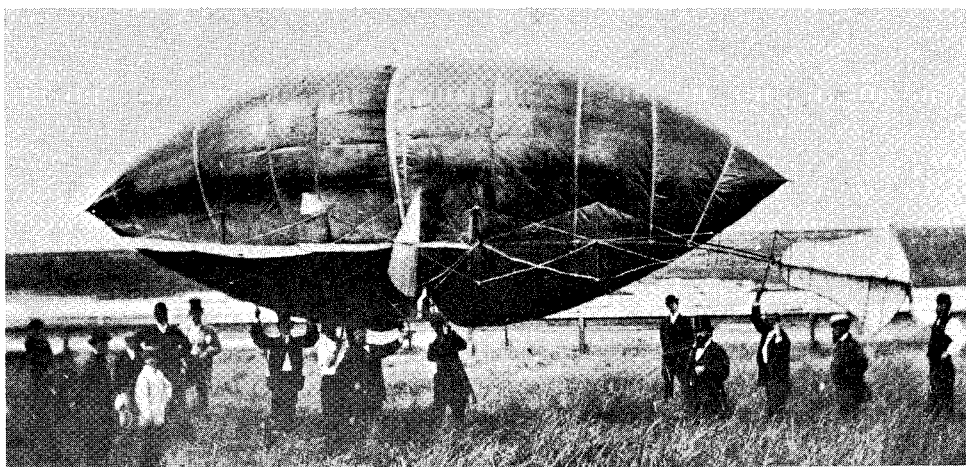
by Roger Olmsted

“IT ALL SEEMS LIKE a Monte Cristo story, but let me tell the young, ambitious reader that there are just as splendid opportunities staring him in the face today just waiting to be taken into camp.” Thus the comment of Ashbury Harpending, promoter, of the days one hundred years ago in California. In the two decades before, the state had witnessed two booms capable of making rich any young man of “common sense and intelligent foresight.” One boom had been the Gold Rush, which in business and land speculations had compressed development time (and business sense) so much that it had seemed a permanent phenomenon before it had run four years. The second



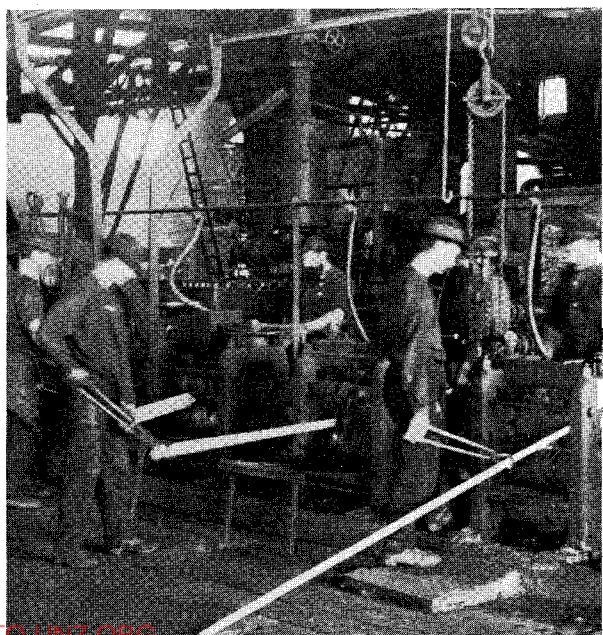
was the post-Civil War boom, built on California's hard-cash economy, a large demand for goods at prices that stimulated local manufacture—and that shimmering prospect of the Atlantic-to-Pacific railroad that would somehow chuff in with the millenium in tow.





3

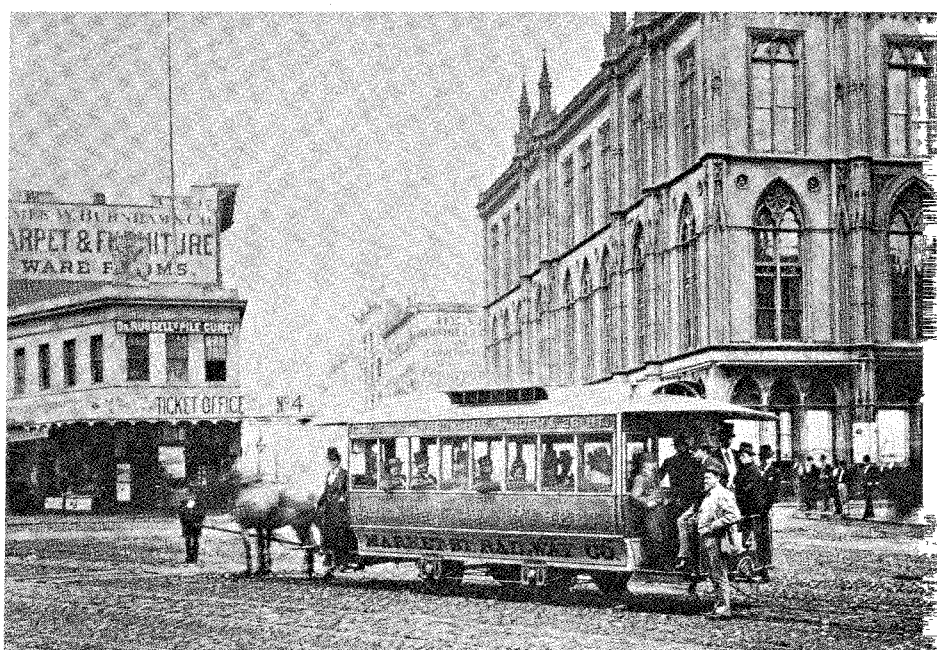
About a hundred years ago, San Francisco occupied a position of preeminence in population, wealth, and influence relative to the whole state that it had not enjoyed during the Gold Rush years (when the mining counties of the Sierra contained a relatively large and very active population) and that it was to begin to lose toward Southern California with the great land boom of the 1880's. Indeed, not only California but most of the western slope of the continent was a fiefdom of San Francisco's financial princes in 1871. The Comstock was a fiscal suburb of The City, as were most mining regions in the Far West. Not only was money, transport, and merchandising centered at San Francisco, but the very spirit of enterprise radiated from the metropolis. An unlimited prospect of growth stretched before the entrepreneurs of one hundred years ago, and California and San Francisco seemed destined for more than even the gods could grant. Growth and the railroads seemed synonymous in 1871. With the transcontinental railroad—"the work of the age"—complete, there was a grand scramble for franchises to all kinds of unlikely locations, and such grandiose enterprises as bridging San Francisco Bay seemed conceivable. Indeed, the Aerial Steam Navigation Company sought to capitalize itself at a round million dollars in 1869, and its prototype "Avitor" made several brief flights that served at least to show its designer and promoter to be very much ahead of his times.



4

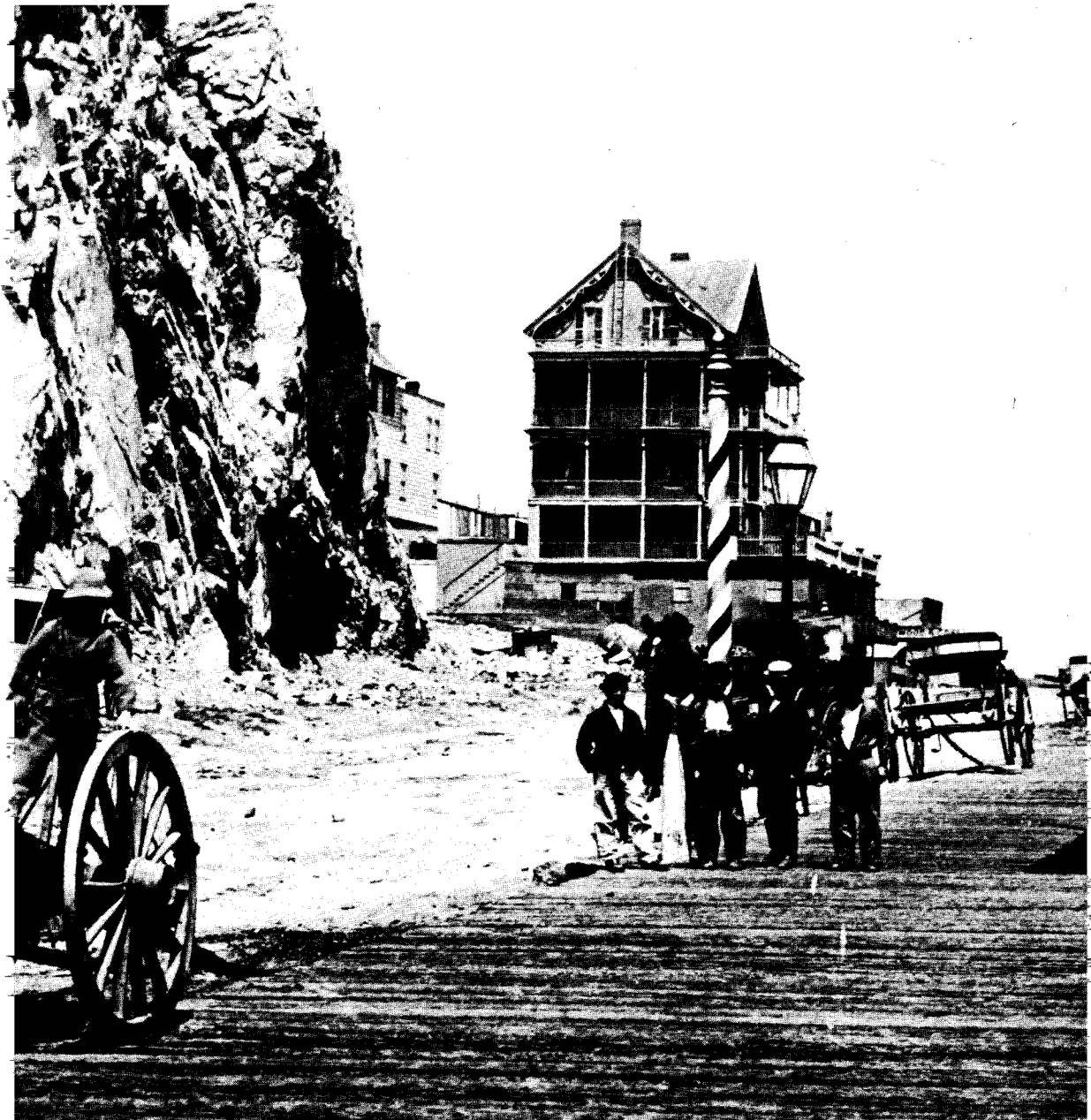


The real impact of the twin streaks of light iron connecting California with the Mississippi was not everywhere beneficial. Local manufactures had before 1869 enjoyed some protection (in the form of high importation costs) as they developed during the 1860's. By the time that Eadweard Muybridge photographed the operatives of the Pacific Rolling Mills—1871—promising local industries were feeling the full weight of competition with cheaper Eastern products shipped west by rail. The spars of sailing ships still stood thick along the Vallejo Street Wharf and other San Francisco piers, but the lean California Clippers would quickly give way to more efficient European carriers, for speed



6

was no longer at a premium. The transportation revolution in the city took the form of a network of horsecars—a much more important factor in city development than one might think. Meanwhile, Andrew S. Hallidie was working with the transport possibilities of wire rope. . . .



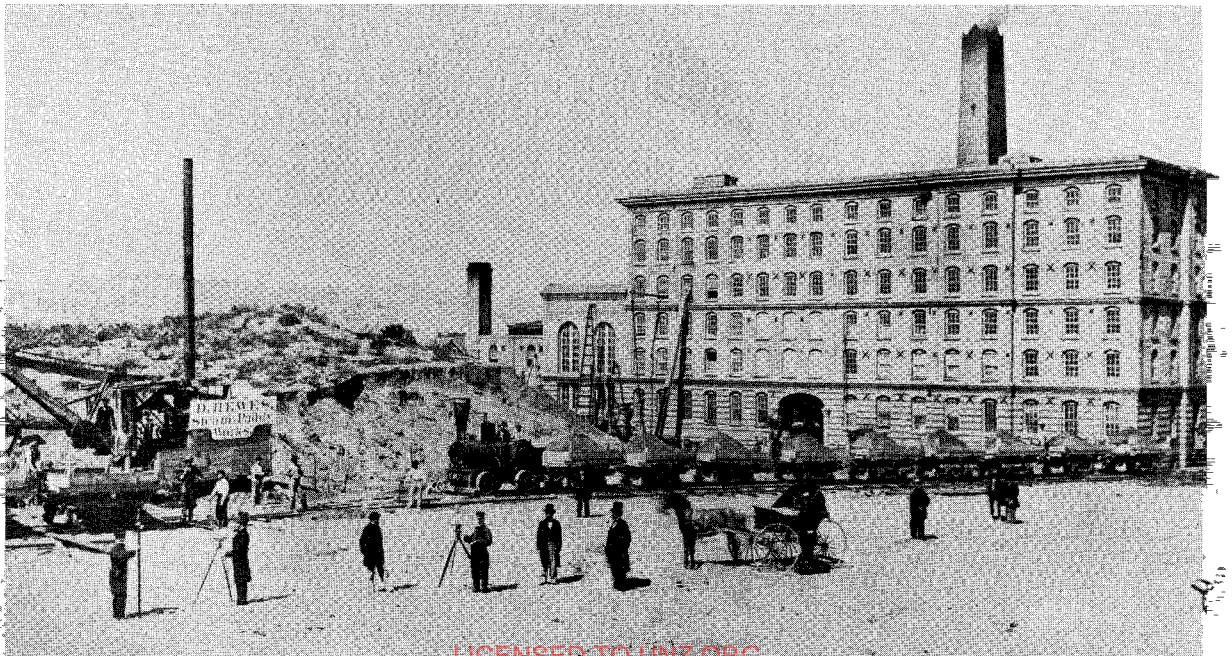
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Cutting up the countryside in the name of progress is nothing new, and our forebears attacked hill and hollow with impressive will. Despite primitive machinery, San Franciscans moved perhaps twenty million cubic yards from the hills to the shallows of the bay during the 1850's and '60's. The Broadway cut at Kearney was impressive enough to photograph—but fell far short of the ambition to cut Telegraph Hill (among others) down to the ideal of a sanitary engineer. The “steam Paddy” is seen at the right working near the sugar refinery around Eighth and Harrison. At the upper right is an hydraulic mine in Nevada County—an operation which would count the earth moving in Sacramento and San Francisco a small matter.



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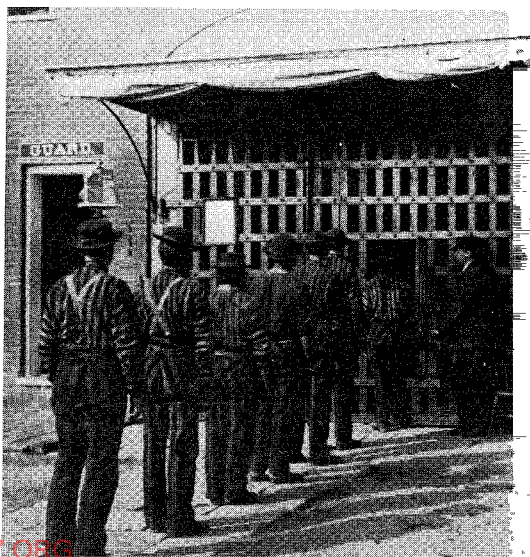
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strokes a minute. As this was no work for the merchants who supported the companies, the volunteers were most often the bully-boys of local ward bosses; they did their best work at the polls, seeing to it that drifters voted early and often—and right. They also brawled with rival companies for precedence at conflagrations, earned their livings by no obvious means, and sometimes put out fires. It was downright unromantic to replace these colorful gangs with horse-drawn steam pumpers and paid firemen, but in this case improved engineering technology coincided with social reform.

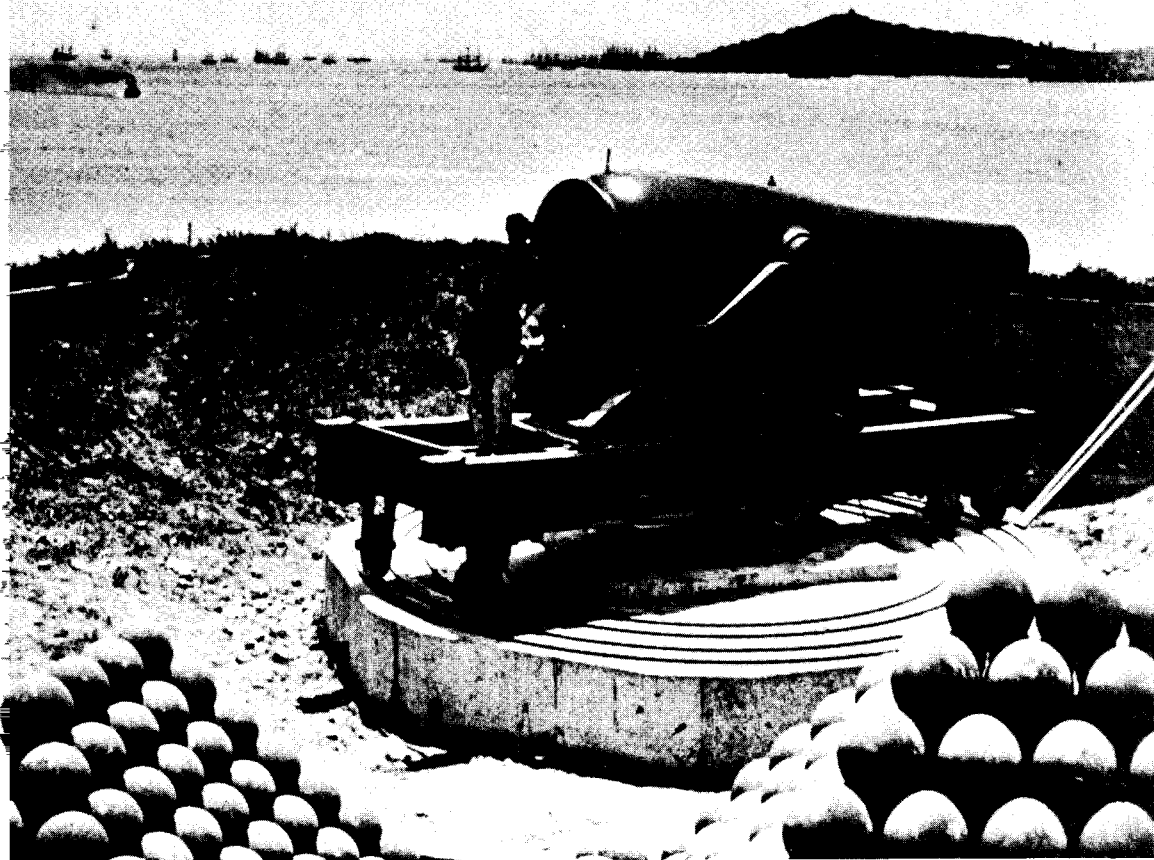
Eadweard Muybridge, who took many of the photographs on these pages, made rather systematic photographic surveys of many obvious aspects of the San Francisco Bay Area scene just one hundred years ago, but he also looked into some usually obscure corners. At the right is one of a number of views of San Quentin.

The end of an era is symbolized by the volunteers of Sacramento's Neptune Hose Company Number 1, for while volunteer fire departments have persisted down to our own times, these small-town operations are not to be confused with the volunteer companies of San Francisco or Sacramento during the 1850's and '60's.

The urban volunteers of California's golden era were not a response to a need for civic economy, but rather were a necessity of the times and technology. It took at least thirty (and preferably fifty to sixty) enthusiastic toughs to work a hand pump fire engine at up to 120



12



13

With no Confederate raiders to stand off, Alcatraz stood lazy guard over the port of San Francisco. With no more forts to build, contractors with good connections had to look elsewhere for profitable employment. They soon found it in the new City Hall of San Francisco (right). The cornerstone of this gothic edifice was laid amidst great civic celebration on February 22, 1872. Some twenty-five years later the structure was completed—in good time to all but collapse into dust at the first shock of the 1906 earthquake. It developed that substantial quantities of inexpensive materials (not excluding old newspapers) had been thriftily introduced by builders of this spectacularly expensive project.

The Capitol, nearing completion at Sacramento in 1871, was sound, if no more grandiose. Perhaps they built better in Sacramento. One does have the feeling that J. P. Gianelli (right), of the Capital Furniture Company, may have been all of the repair man that he claimed to be.



14

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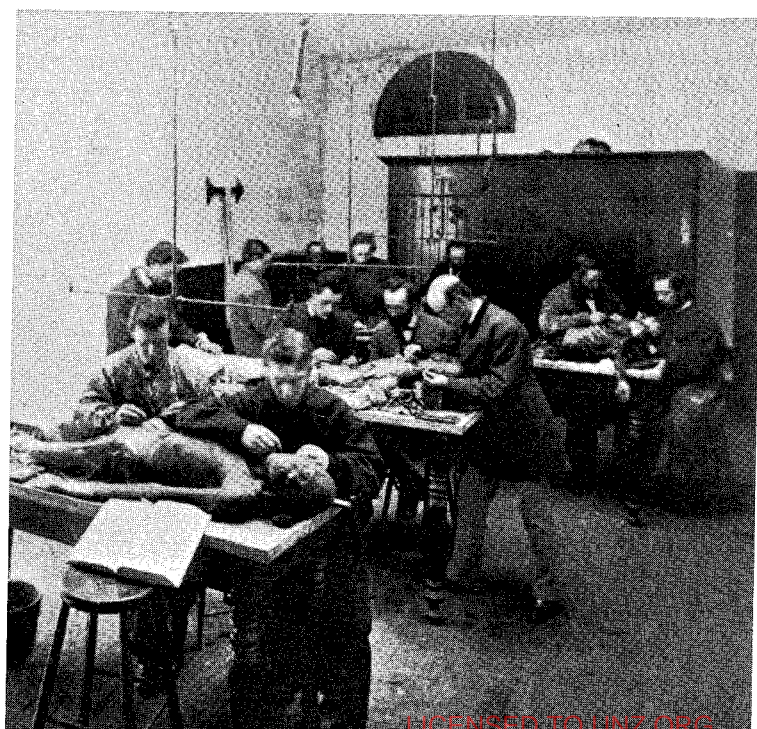
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Although this view of the wagon freighters at Cisco Grove was made a year or two before the completion of the Central Pacific, in 1871 California was still renowned for its mountain teams, teamsters, and freighting. If legend is half the truth, the exhortations of a California mule-skinner tuning up his team to “get down and scratch” would provoke the envy of a Downeast bucko mate. Freighting to the Washoe mines was the big business just before the railroad, but there were plenty of camps and mines in the Sierra that depended entirely upon wagon freight until they petered out.

It is not recorded that men who drove the ox teams on little redwood tramways such as that at the right were masters of sublime profanity—perhaps because oxen have less exotic tastes than mules. And in the way of exotic tastes, bear in mind that Muybridge not only saw fit to photograph the anatomy instruction at the university’s Toland Hall, but that California families bought the views in living stereo!



17



18



19



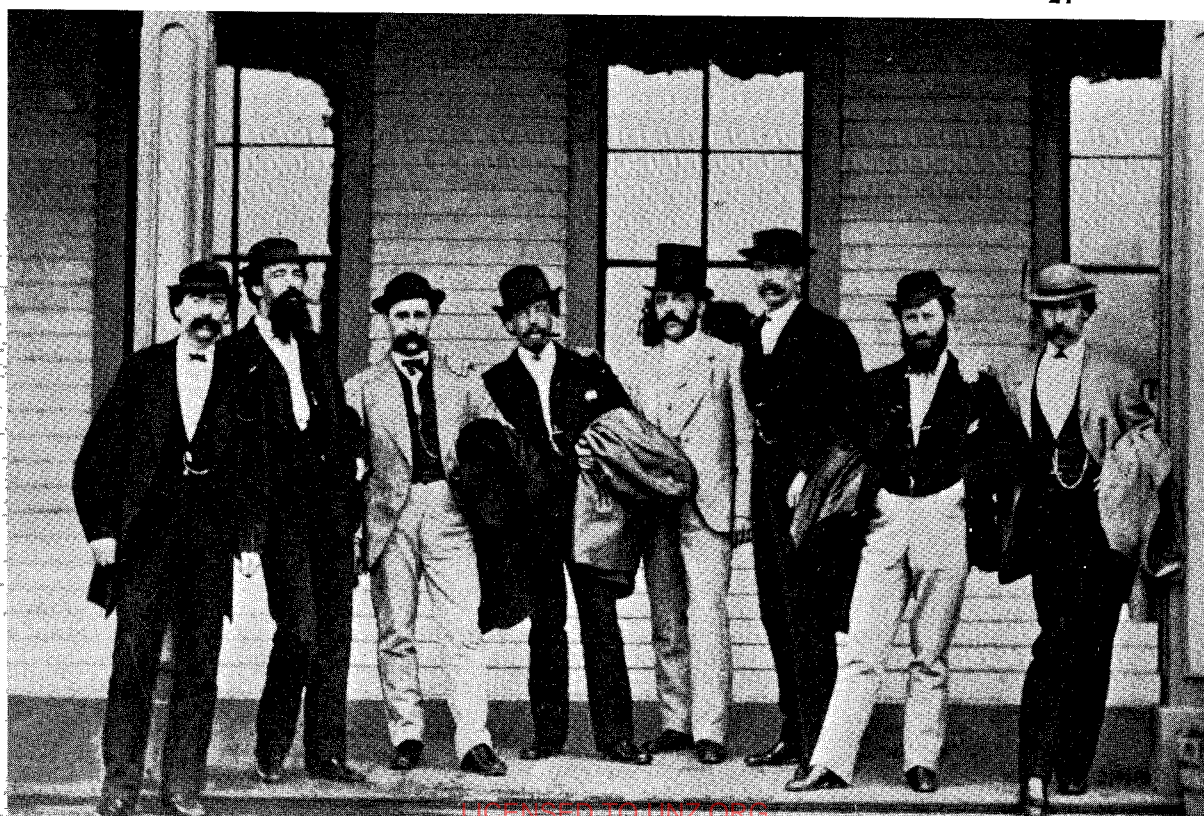
A California assembly line: busily bottling in the clear winter sunshine, the proprietors and employees of the Buena Vista winery strike a pose of bucolic industry in one of the few places in America 100 years ago that provided a sure market for their beverage—champagne. The efforts of Col. Harazthy and others had indeed paid off by 1870; California could produce the grapes of France without the vagaries of climate that make for good or poor vintages. Prime consumers of the heady squeezings were still aplenty in San Francisco and the hinterlands, for Gold Rush traditions still held in entertainment. There was yet a Bella Union in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, and goodness knows where else.



20

And the dramatic woodcut of a San Francisco melodion worked up for the titillation of *Leslie's Weekly* readers matched reality so closely that you can pick out likely members of the audience in the sporting crowd caught by a photographer.

21



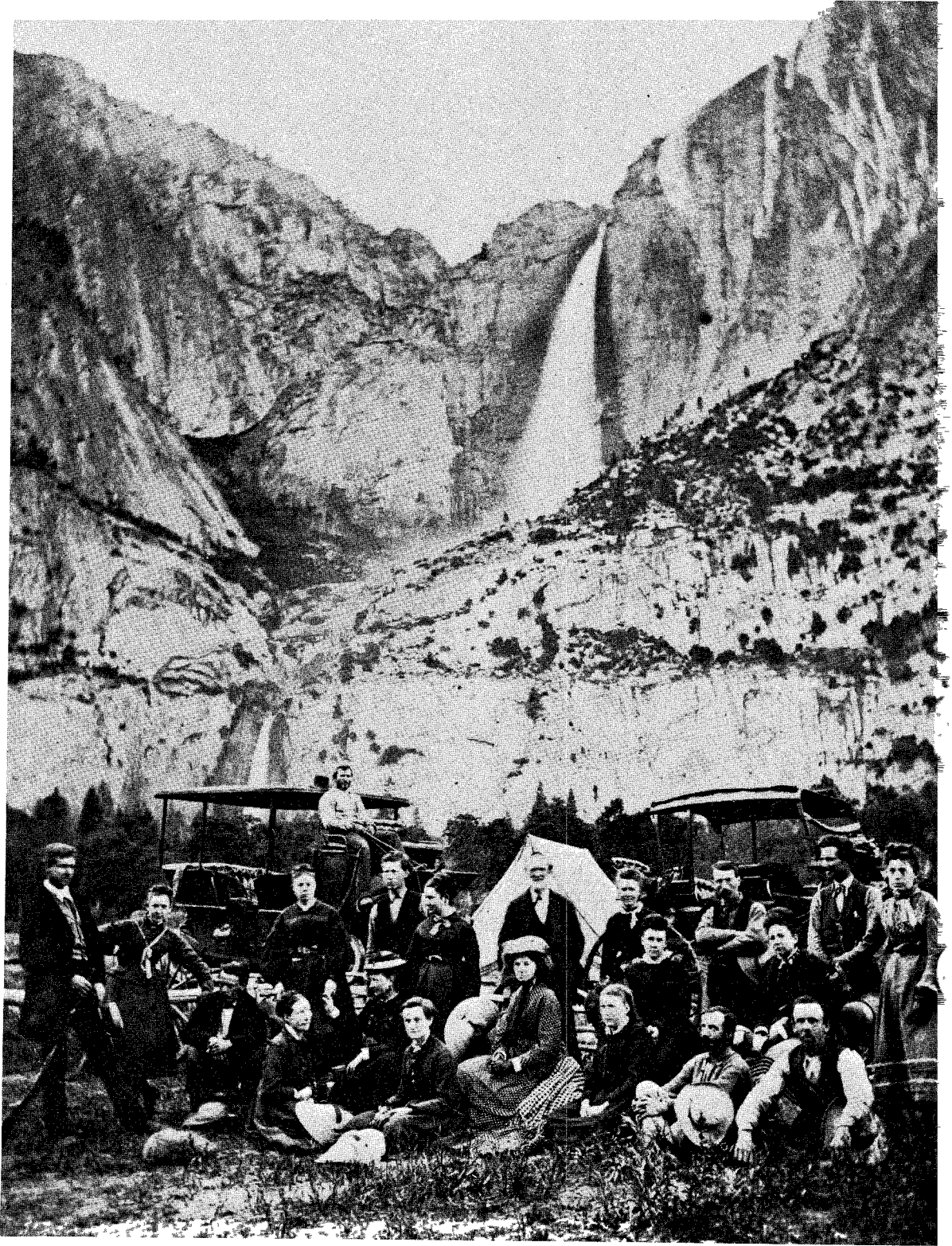


In the early 1870's the native Indian population of California had been reduced to a fragment of its size in the '40's, but the population of the state was still low enough that the Indian was visible. While the Modoc War of 1873 was disastrous to the handful of Modoc Indians, it was also a disaster to the U. S. Army —sufficient to lay to rest the notion that California Indians

were incompetent fighters. A picket station of G.I.'s is seen above, fortunately not overlooking the peaceful encampment of Alfred Bierstadt, landscape painter of the West, at Yosemite.

The Yosemite Park was the first of the great scenic parks of the West, having been declared a state park in 1864. When the Big Oak Flat Road was opened in 1874, a caravan of stages and wagons bearing some five hundred people inaugurated the first genuine tourist rush on the Valley, duplicating in miniature the statewide tourist rush of the 1870's, made possible by the completion of the railroad.







25

The civilized entertainment of touring was matched in San Francisco by the Whole Family Park—in the form of the famous Woodward's Gardens. With its animals (stuffed and real), its "rides," its galleries and concerts and special events, Woodward's was a nineteenth century equivalent of Disneyland. Here we have the entrance to the grounds and a peek at one of the special attractions: the eight-foot Chinese, certainly more than a match for the fabled "Missouri giants" of the Gold Rush years.



26

The gentle sex found exotic recreation a hundred years ago, if one is to believe the reporters of America's illustrated weeklies. We suspect, though, that some artistic license was used in the portrayal of a Chinatown opium den. On the other hand, ladies *did* play billiards in the Leland Stanford mansion at Sacramento.



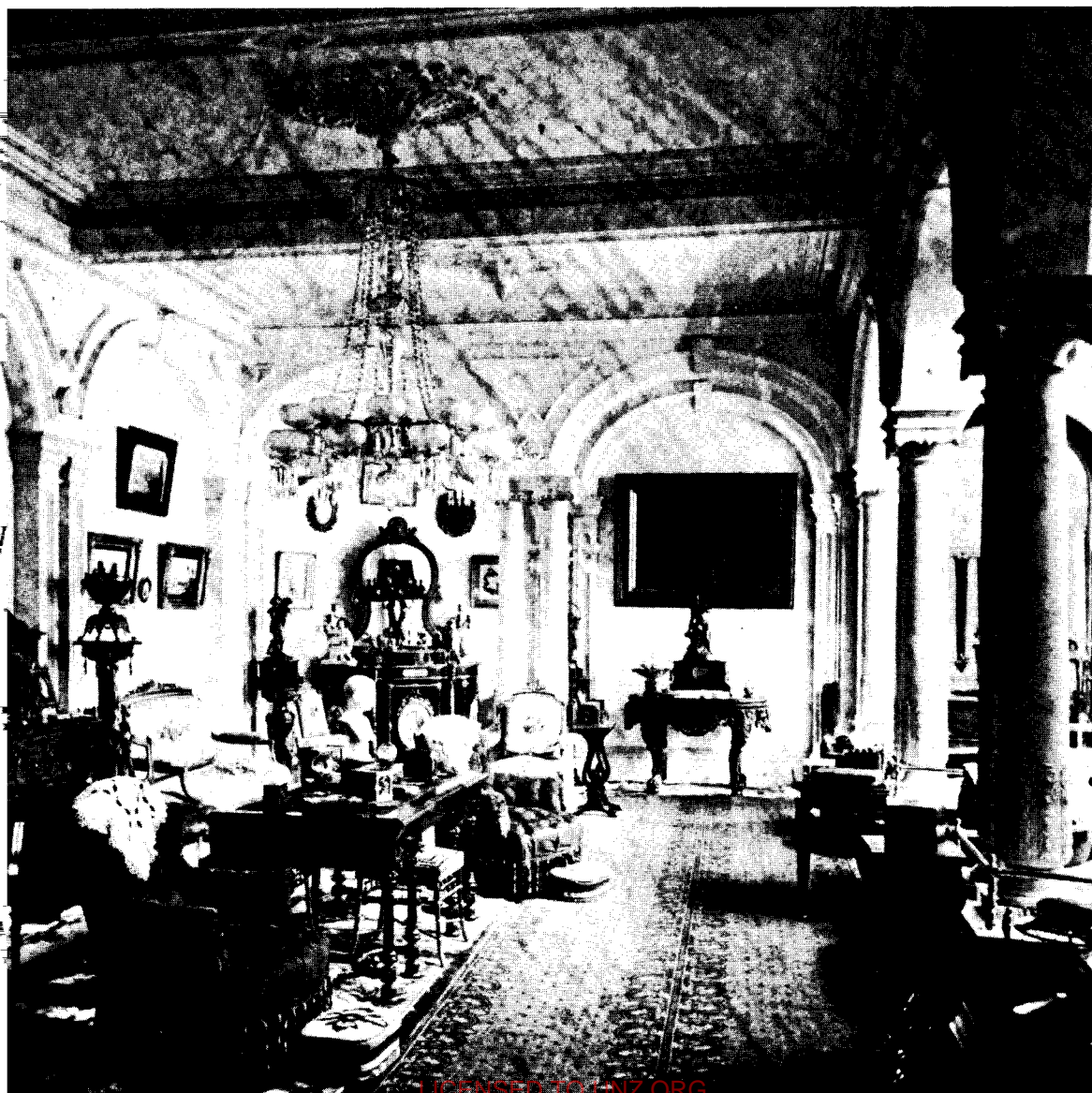
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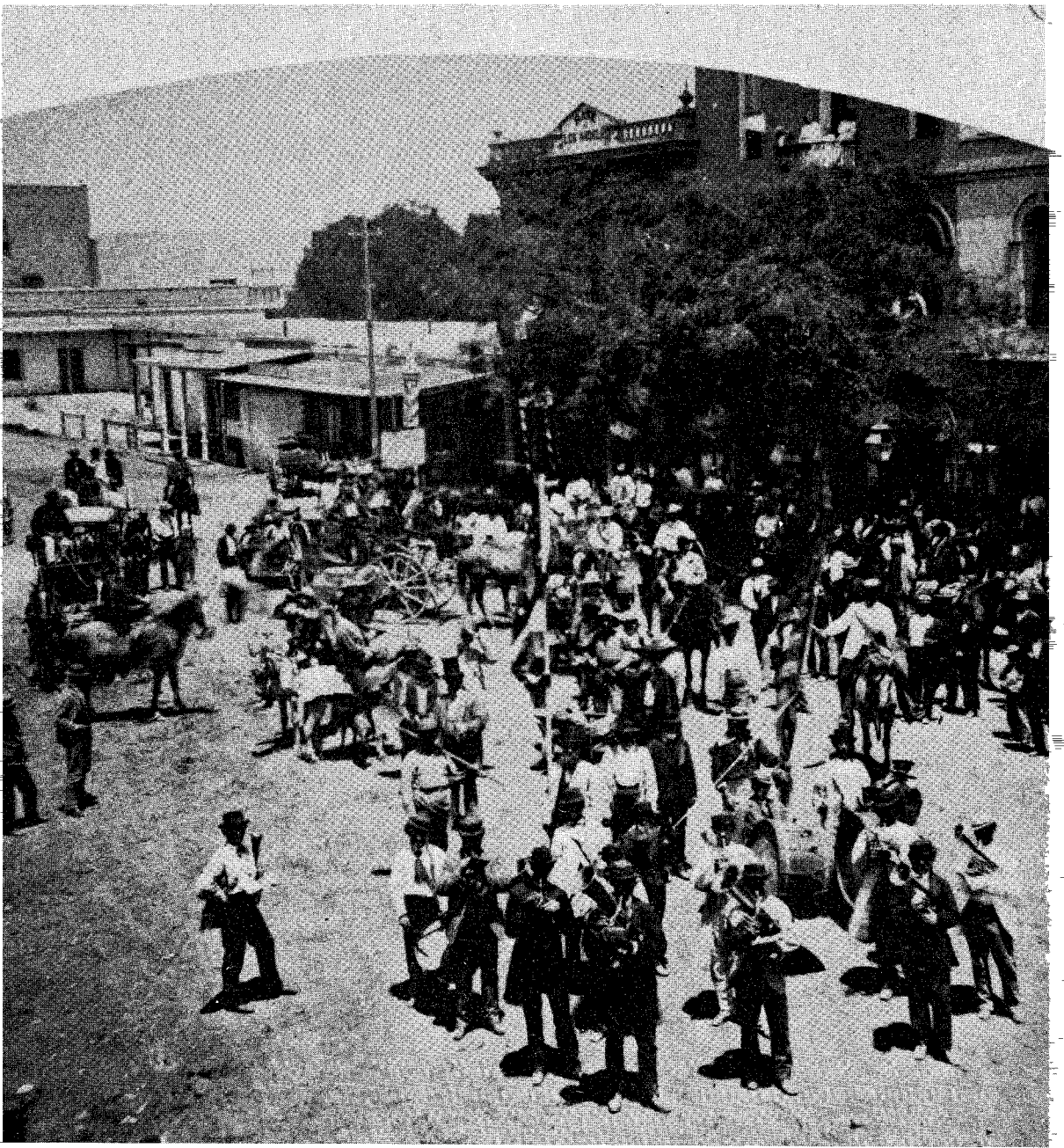


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The private showplace of California in 1871 was William C. Ralston's mansion at Belmont, south of San Francisco. With his partners of the Bank of California "ring," Ralston had systematically skimmed the wealth of the Comstock and poured it into real estate and industry in Northern California. Ralston was at the height of his career just a hundred years ago, a king in San Francisco while the railroad builders were still barons in Sacramento. He raced his magnificent matched teams against the train to Belmont; the great, the fashionable, and the impressionable were entertained in the overwhelming manner of the era at his country seat. Yet the worm was in the apple: the season was turning chill for California industries; frost was settling on the real estate boom; and when the freeze-out came in the Virginia City mines, Ralston's empire would turn out to be a rosy shell.

29





The parade of the Mexican War veterans, North Main Street, Los Angeles, July 4, 1871. . . . Immigration and irrigation were not many years short of kicking off a boom that in the perspective of a century seems to have been almost continuous. Before the decade was out some of that Comstock silver was to funnel through the pockets of men who spent money in the South, such as John P. Jones and Lucky Baldwin. More importantly, the railroad that brought such mixed blessings to the North carried better news for Southern California exports.



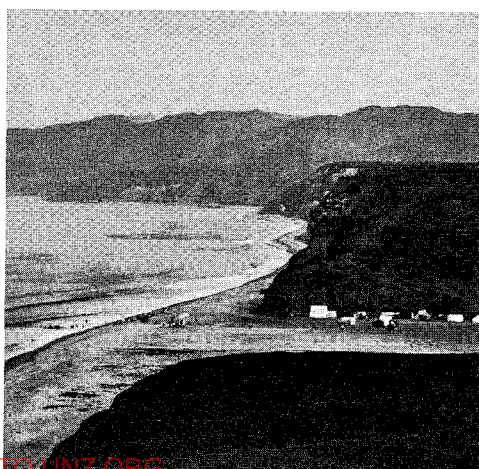
Los Angeles was a town of wide open spaces when this view was made looking toward the intersection of Spring and Main Streets. Aside from bedding, signs advertise printing, "La Bonanza Cash store" (cash paid for produce), sewing machines, and "Mercantile Law & Collecting." The dusty aspect of a Wild West town was not too far from the truth; popular justice in the 1850's summarily disposed of Los Angeles criminals at a rate that made the celebrated



32

vigilance committees of San Francisco seem laggard, and as late as the fall of 1871 a mob of bloodthirsty citizens massacred nineteen hapless Chinese in the streets near the Plaza.

In the early '70's South Pasadena was a growing farm community, while far to the west early sun worshipers visited the tent resort at the mouth of Santa Monica Canyon.



33



34

Above is the commercial heart of Los Angeles—Los Angeles Street near the corner of Commercial. At the center is the back of the St. Charles Hotel, which fronted on Main Street (and which appears in the view of the Mexican War veterans parade). At the right is a view redolent of the early 1870's (but taken at a later date)—members of the Coronel family striking a pose at the Avila adobe in Olvera Street.

The panorama below, of Los Angeles at 9:50 a.m. on Thursday, May 13, 1869, was made by Stephen A. Rendall, who advertised his project in advance and sold his prints by subscription. Rendall himself is seen at the center. The view was

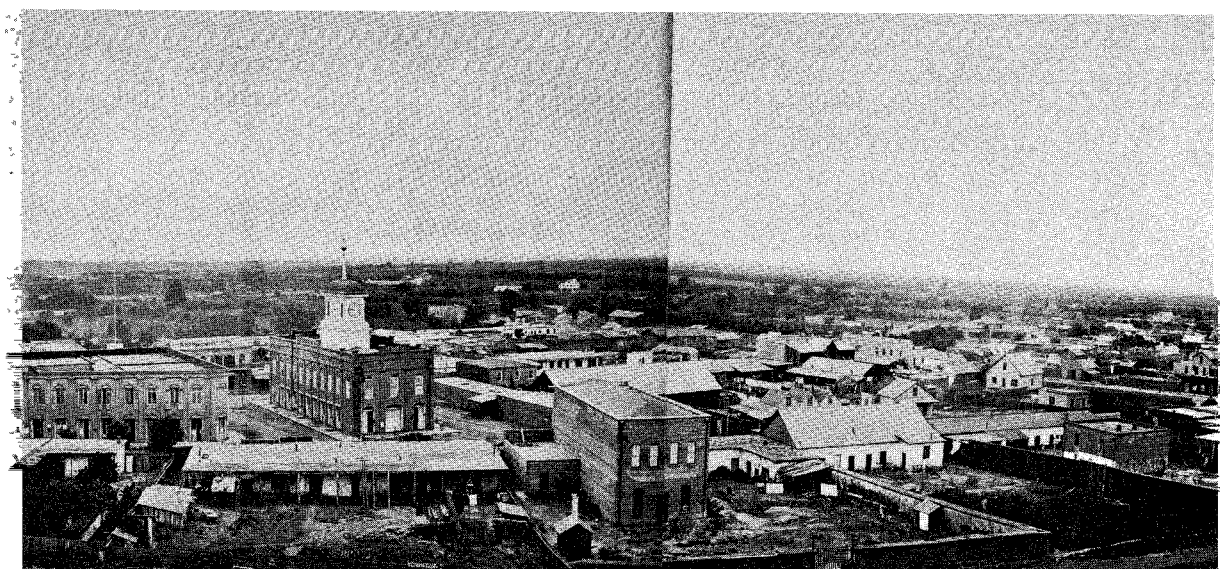
36





35

made from Fort Hill, just above the intersection of Temple and Hill Streets. At the left, one is looking northeast, and at the right, a bit west of south. The Plaza, the original center of Los Angeles, is barely visible in the background of the left hand portion of the panorama. The American city grew up to the south and west of this area. The Courthouse and the Temple Block, occupying the gore lots between Spring and Main Streets, are to the right of center. At the time of this photograph the transition between California colonial and Victorian commercial architecture shows very clearly. Flat-roofed adobes of the old era are still seen everywhere—and there are still old pepper trees on Main Street.





37

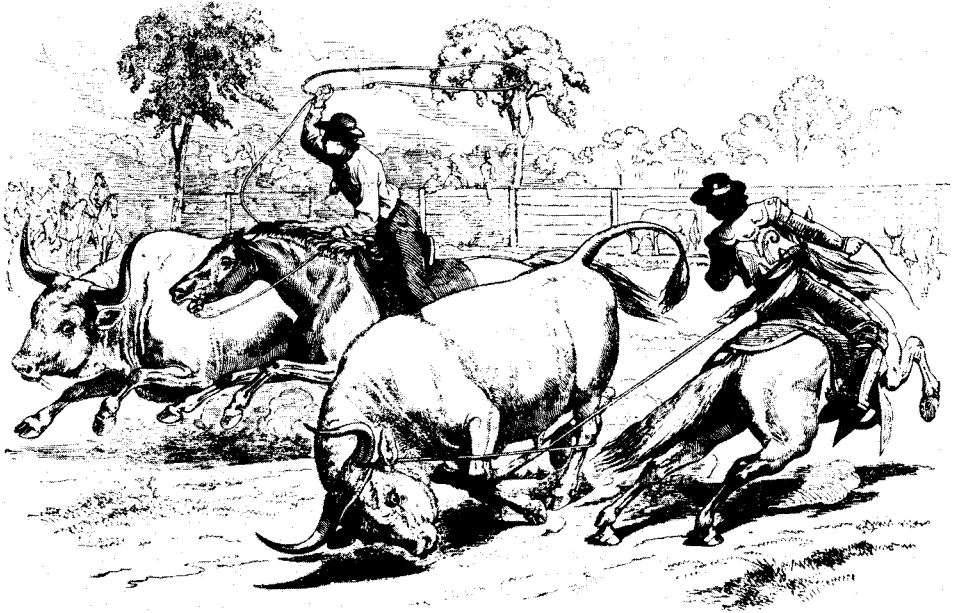


38



Between 1865 and 1871 San Francisco had changed from a rather raw looking city with some good blocks of buildings into a genuine *urbs*, where three- and four-story buildings set a uniform standard of intense development. This view by Muybridge (from stereo cards, with the segments cropped in just enough so that the panorama has slight gaps) has the development of the city working toward the left, as in the case of the Rendall panorama of Los Angeles. We are looking down California Street, with Ralston's Bank of California in the foreground at the right hand break in the view. Market Street, angling in toward California, is traced by the smokes of the South of Market industrial area. In this wedge the newer business blocks crowded in splendid confusion. From the foot of Broadway the smoke of a departing steamboat drifts across the waterfront.

If the financial basis of all this booming growth was a bit shaky, so was the veritable underpinning. Most of the area you can see in the panorama was filled land, reclaimed from Yerba Buena Cove. When the "big shake" of October 21, 1868, rattled the city, some of the buildings riding on sand above bay mud suffered severe damage. Of course San Franciscans then (as now) could reflect that they had seen the worst. . . .



39

The old and the new had shown themselves so dramatically in the interval between 1845 and 1870 that the difference between San Francisco and Los Angeles in 1870 or the differences between these places and the modern cities is less spectacular than that giant leap that California made between the Gold Rush and the coming of the railroad age.

That period of wildly forced growth moved faster than the cultural stereotypes of the time could change. In 1871 Charles Nordhoff wrote: "California is to most Eastern people still a land of big beets and pumpkins, of rough miners, of pistols, bowie-knives, abundant fruit, queer wines, high prices—full of discomforts, and abounding in dangers to the peaceful traveler." Yet, he added, "Certainly in no part of the continent is pleasure-traveling so exquisite and unalloyed a pleasure as in California." He may have overstated his case a bit, but it is true that in California one did have to look sharp for much in the way of rustic excitement.

The little Wild West entertainment to be found is illustrated in the woodcut from *The Mining and Scientific Press* of "Vaqueros Lassoing Cattle" at the San Jose fair of the State Agricultural Society. The real excitement in California at the time was ably documented by the English writer, Anthony Trollope: "Everybody is at it. The housemaid of whom I have spoken as earning £70 per annum buys Consolidated Virginia or Ophir stock with that money;—or perhaps she prefers Chollar Potosi, or Best and Belcher, or Yellow Jacket, or Buckeye. She probably

consults some gentleman of her acquaintance and no doubt in 19 cases out of 20 loses her money." Trollope found the sight most worth seeing in San Francisco was the bedlam of the stock exchange. "I thought that the gentlemen employed were going to hit each other between the eyes, and that the apparent quarrels which I saw already demanded the interference of the police. But the uproarious throng were always obedient, after slight delays, to the ringing hammer of the Chairman and as each five minutes' period of internecine combat was brought to an end, I found that a vast number of mining shares had been bought and sold." If we are tempted to think of the late 1860's and the early '70's as a period of calm between the madness of the Gold Rush and the madness of the Southern California land boom of the mid-1880's—then, we are mistaken. The madness of the period a century ago perfectly bridges the gap between gold-grabbing and land-grabbing. It was in 1872 that Ashbury Harpending and William Chapman Ralston latched onto the greatest mine in the history of the world. This was the Discovery Claim somewhere in Wyoming. Here diamonds could be turned up much more easily than truffles in Périgord, with sapphires, rubies, and emeralds to add a dash of color. A \$10,000,000 corporation was organized by the bedazzled Ralston to exploit the incredible find. All of this was no ordinary swindle—this was the Great Diamond Hoax.



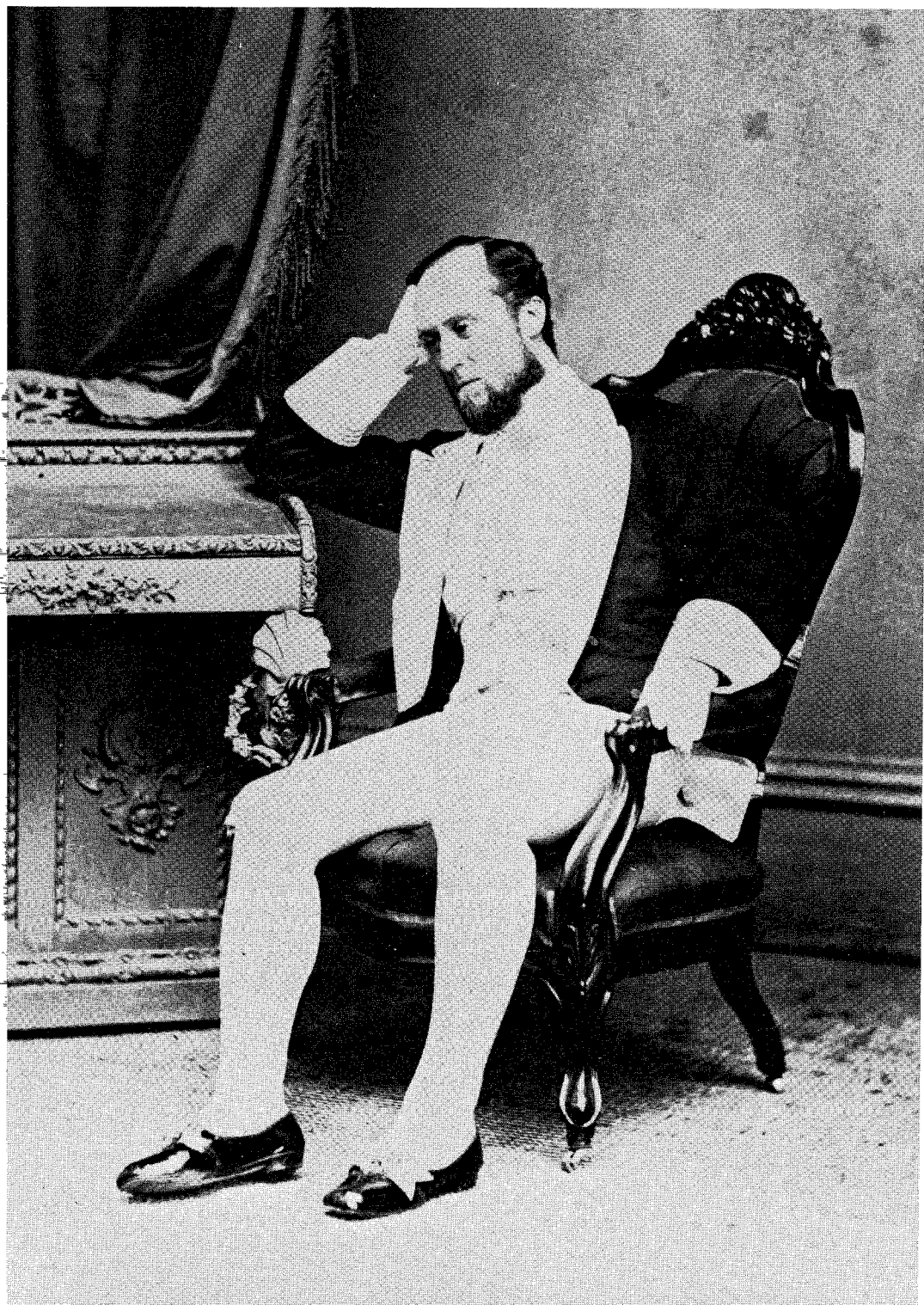


41

Why is the King of California and Protector of The Comstock nursing a headache in this outlandish garb?

Ralston, "the man who built San Francisco," indeed commissioned the largest and most splendid hotel in the world. At least \$5,000,000 in real money went into the Palace, a monument so out of the scale of civic need that it was lampooned as having (among other remarkable services) an in-house undertaking service to meet the daily requirements of its multitudinous patrons.

In 1875 the Bank of California collapsed. New men who dealt in harder realities were taking over the Golden State. Ralston took his afternoon swim and did not return.





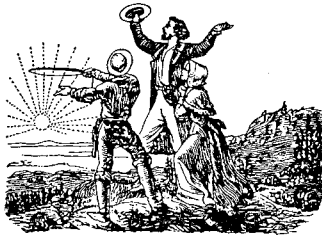
43

Ralston may have been just a bit mad—but was he wrong? Did Joshua A. Norton, Norton I, Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico, in fact rule in California? Norton had once not quite cornered rice, but he came back to reign at the free-lunch saloons. He died with his times, in 1880.

Picture credits: Robert A. Weinstein, of Los Angeles, figures largely in the conception of this work in providing photos of Southern California 100 years ago. The most important single collection of photographs of the exact period is the Eadweard Muybridge set now in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Bancroft Library: 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 37, 42, 43. California Historical Society: 3, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 24, 27, 39, 40, 41. California State Library: 15, 28. Huntington Library: 38. San Francisco Maritime Museum: 5, 6. Robert A. Weinstein: 8, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. Wells Fargo History Room: 1.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

by PETER A. EVANS



*A Descriptive Bibliography
of California Historical Society Publications
1871-1971*

*with a Foreword by J. S. HOLLIDAY
and a Recollection by CHARLES L. CAMP*



*This bibliography of the works of the
California Historical Society
is respectfully dedicated to the printer and designer
who helped establish standards of excellence—*
LAWTON R. KENNEDY

*The generosity of
EARL C. ADAMS
has made possible the publication of
this Centennial Bibliography*

FOREWORD

IN CELEBRATION OF THE SOCIETY'S CENTENNIAL YEAR, no other gift or effort is more appropriate than publication of this descriptive bibliography. As the CHS founders proclaimed in 1871, and the publications committees in later years have labored to sustain and strengthen, the abiding purpose of the CHS has been to preserve and make available through publication the impressive record of California's history. How successfully that task has been carried forward is here recorded by Peter Evans, CHS Librarian. Here are Olympian names of California scholarship, of men and women widely known and revered, of titles familiar by use or reputation. The CHS was lucky and wise enough to publish them all, thereby creating a proud and important record of contributions to California scholarship.

On the pages that follow are the names of old friends, counselors and teachers, scholars and collectors: Henry Wagner, Charles Camp, Herbert Bolton, Carl Wheat, Oscar Lewis, Dale Morgan, George Stewart, W. W. Robinson, Susanna Dakin, Francis Farquhar, Abraham Nasatir, Aubrey Neasham, George Lyman, Marguerite Wilbur, Irene Paden, Dwight Clarke, Theodore Treutlein, and more—all names that will last as landmarks in California history.

To have published these authors and to have sustained the pace and quality of such a publications program required persevering leadership and generosity of pocketbook and spirit. As it must be with all institutions dedicated to creating and giving, the CHS has been blessed with such leadership and generosity. Following revival of the Society in 1922, the combined talents of Templeton Crocker, Henry Wagner, Charles Camp, and Dorothy Huggins started the publishing program that has continued these past fifty years. The early part of that story is told by Charles Camp in his excellent introduction; in later years, publications committees carried on the work, chaired by such men as Allen L. Chickering, Douglas Watson, Francis Farquhar, Arthur Towne, and George L. Harding (whose other contributions to the Society have extended beyond publications to every aspect of the organization). Now that tradition of editorial leadership is shared by a new publications committee under Robert H. Power, and by Roger R. Olmsted in his position as CHS Director of Publications.

Matching the indispensable quality of leadership, there has been the strength provided by the generosity of men such as Templeton Crocker, who paid the bills in the beginning years, and now most

recently, Earl C. Adams of San Marino—collector of California and western art and history, who has made possible publication of this centennial bibliography. As in the past, the publications of the CHS are today the prime means of bringing California history to our members, through our *Quarterly* (now in its fiftieth year) and our books, with six titles being published during 1971. Thus we begin our second century.

J. S. HOLLIDAY
Director

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

ONE OF HENRY WAGNER'S chief aims and interests when he joined with Templeton Crocker and others in reviving the Historical Society was the encouragement and promotion of a solid program of historical research and publication. This he always regarded as a central aim and objective. One of the first productions, then, of the revitalized Society in 1922 was the *Quarterly*, which so far as I recollect has never since missed an issue, and is now in its fiftieth volume.

Wagner's remarkable insight and organizing ability became evident when he set about collating material and bringing together writers for the new project. His own researches in the Spanish and Mexican archives as well as his book collecting (leading at first to the publication of *The Plains and the Rockies* bibliography) were to serve as foundation material for the *Quarterly*. He had foreseen the interest soon to emerge in the history of the American West. He had sensed the importance and noted the lack of documentation of early Pacific voyages along the West Coast. And he hoped that the Society would devote some attention to these things.

My own interest in Western history was just beginning when the Society was organized. I had first met Mr. Wagner in New York City, shortly before his return to Berkeley in 1922. He had given me some valuable advice on research that I was doing on Kit Carson's dictated manuscript autobiography. Wagner suggested that I work up an article on Kit Carson's California career using the material in the manuscript. He also introduced me to Clinton Peters, son of the biographer of Kit Carson, who had been an army surgeon in New Mexico in the sixties. And finally Mr. Wagner suggested that the article on Carson should be offered to the new historical quarterly, where it finally appeared in the last number of volume I, 1922.

This was the beginning of a long friendship with Henry R. Wagner. And I came to know and respect him during this time in 1922-23 when he was organizing the Historical Society, bringing together its Publication Committee, gathering material for the *Quarterly*, and soliciting funds for publication and other operations of the Society. Membership in the Society was scarcely 300 at that time. Directors came to meetings with their check books handy in order to meet current expenses and deficits. Mr. Crocker had provided quarters in the Wells Fargo Building and had deposited a large part of his library there. He was very generous also in covering deficits.

Mr. Wagner and Robert E. Cowan must have had a good deal to say about the selection of the first Publication Committee. John Henry Nash was put on because, according to report, it was thought he might help out with the printing of the *Quarterly*. I was asked to serve in the fall of 1922. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Helen Throop Purdy was appointed as was my friend Miss Jessie Davies who had been a secretary at the American Museum in New York and had experience in editing publications of that institution and was a capable writer.

During this entire early time and for many years thereafter, Miss Dorothy Huggins (who is today Mrs. George Harding) was engaged as full-time secretary of the Society. She did all the typing of historical articles, sent out notices of meetings and answered the office correspondence and telephone.

While delving into the Bancroft manuscripts I became interested in the transcript of James Clyman's Diary 1844-45 that Napa editor R. T. Montgomery had made for Bancroft. Through the interest of relatives at Napa, I found that the original diary still existed in the hands of Clyman's grandson, Mr. Tallman. Other Clyman material turned up in the Draper Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society. We put this together into the series of articles which appeared in the *Quarterly* 1925-27.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Marguerite E. Wilbur had made a translation of the journal of a French gold seeker, Ernest de Massey, a copy of which was in the Los Angeles Public Library. I wrote some notes and obtained a map for this account which we published in the *Quarterly* in 1926-27. I then asked Sidney Ehrman, one of the directors of the Society, whether he regarded the Clyman and de Massey accounts valuable enough to be put out in our new special publications series. He said he thought the de Massey would qualify but had some reservations about the Clyman. Nevertheless, he said, "Go ahead and print both of them." When they came out I laid a few copies of each on his desk together with a check for the amount he had advanced. He accepted the books but not the check, saying, "Take this check and start a rotating publication fund. It will serve to help develop our publication program." This was done and in due time a very respectable fund was accumulated. Three hundred thirty copies of the Clyman were printed and three hundred of the de Massey.

When Mr. Wagner left Berkeley late in 1925 to live in Southern California, he resigned from his official connections with the Society, to our utter regret. I stepped in as chairman of the Publication Committee and served for about three years when that office was placed in the capable hands of Carl I. Wheat, a stalwart young San Francisco attorney who had been interested in Western history through his association

with the Society. Carl had found and edited the diary of an early Sacramento politician, Charles De Long. This was published in the *Quarterly*, but unfortunately it was never issued as a special publication.

Meanwhile, Wagner continued to publish his researches in the *Quarterly*. He had made a second trip to Spain in 1923 and had obtained from the Archives of Seville a transcript of Cermeño's voyage to California in 1595, as well as the voyages of Pedro de Unamuno in 1587. These were re-edited and published in Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, California Historical Society, September, 1929.

I once suggested to Carl Wheat that we should gather material on the Russians in California as a special number of the *Quarterly*. Several original contributions were available, including a thesis on the Russian withdrawal by Clarence John DuFour. Dr. DuFour told me that we could have this if we could induce Professor Bolton to find and release it. The difficulty was that it had to be exhumed from the Professor's office, from beneath a mass of manuscripts, old theses, and the like.

A great deal of this early publishing established the reputation of the Society. Looking back it seems that while much of the work lacked the finish and polish of high scholarship, it did stimulate the great interest that people have taken in our history, and the lessons of that history.

Soon after I began service on the Publication Committee, we contracted with James J. Gillick to do the *Quarterly*, as well as the early special publications. A slightly new style for the *Quarterly* was used, with flexible covers. Later, during Douglas Watson's time I believe, the printing contract was turned over to Lawton Kennedy who has shared with the Society so many of his artistic book-making skills and ideas during the past years.

The Society has had a notable publication record, as perusal of Mr. Evans' list will indicate. It functions in bringing to light the buried history of our land. As pioneers die and records are scattered and destroyed, much of value tends to be lost. We shall strive to preserve what we can of the history of this land of ours that we love so dearly.

CHARLES L. CAMP
Berkeley, California

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

by PETER A. EVANS

FOUNDING OF THE SOCIETY AND EARLY PUBLICATIONS

IT IS EVIDENT that attempts were made to found a state historical society prior to 1871. However, the Historical Society of the State of California, supposedly incorporated in 1852, and the Ethno-Historical Society of 1866 have left no published records of their existence. Their foundings are mentioned in several places and their officers and trustees are named, but to this day neither written record nor work published under the name of either society has been found.

Such is not the case with the society founded at Santa Clara College on June 6, 1871. The first motion passed by the gentlemen who met on that day reads as follows: "Resolved: That we now unite ourselves as the California Historical Society, for the purpose of collecting and bringing to light and publishing, from time to time, all information not generally accessible on the subject of the early colonization and settlement of the west coast of America, and especially Northwestern Mexico, California, and Oregon." That they were successful in this venture is evidenced by two works published in 1874 under the name of the California Historical Society. Publication was achieved largely through the efforts of Joseph A. Donohoe, John T. Doyle, and Father A. Varsi, founding members of the Society in 1871.

These efforts apparently exhausted the energies of the Society, financial and otherwise, and nothing more appeared in print until the reorganization in 1886 under Professor Edward S. Holden, President of the University of California. Between 1886 and 1891, thirty-two papers were read at forty-two meetings, and by 1893 six of these had been printed in four publications of the California Historical Society. Unfortunately, the Society then fell into another period of decline.

In 1902 a temporary merger was effected between the California Historical Society and the California Genealogical Society, resulting in a California Historic-Genealogical Society. Before activity was suspended by the earthquake and fire of 1906, this combined society produced in 1902 one important publication. The Genealogical Society reorganized separately in 1908, while the Historical Society remained dormant. No further publications appeared, therefore, until the revival of the Society by Templeton Crocker and Henry R. Wagner in 1922. Thus, the early publications of the Society are seven in number and span the years from 1874 to 1902.

1. NOTICIAS DE LA NUEVA CALIFORNIA. Escritas por el Rev. Padre Francisco Paloú. San Francisco: Eduardo Bosqui y Cia. 4 vols. [CHS publication]. 1874. Vol. I: xx + 270 p., *illus.*; vol. II: 301 p., *illus.*; vol. III: 315 p., *illus.*; vol. IV: 253 p., *illus.*

The first volume contains an introduction by John T. Doyle describing the work of Father Paloú in the establishment of the Missions in Upper California. The remainder, printed in Spanish, consists of the writings of Father Paloú, largely done at the Mission of San Francisco de Asís between 1776 and 1784. This is a reprint of the writings of the first priest of the Mission at San Francisco, the original work having been printed in Mexico in 1846. The *Noticias* was selected by the Society for its first publication because it concerned "the earliest Spanish settlement of this region, . . . was written at the old Mission of San Francisco, and was undoubtedly the first piece of literary work done here. . . ." Published by the Society in 1874 at the expense of Joseph A. Donohoe, 100 copies were made and were distributed by Mr. Donohoe with his compliments. It was reissued in 1926 by the University of California Press in four volumes, translated and edited by Herbert E. Bolton.

2. REGLAMENTO PARA EL GOBIERNO DE LA PROVINCIA DE CALIFORNIAS. Aprobado por S. M. en Real Orden de 24 de Octubre de 1781. En México: por D. Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, calle del Espíritu Santo, año de 1784. Santa Clara: Santa Clara College. [CHS publication]. 1874. 68 p.

The second publication of the Society is a reprint of "the earliest written law peculiar to California, of which we have any authentic copy." In the original from which this was taken, there are indications that two provisional regulations may have preceded it and that the copy on which the Society's reprint is based (a printed copy found in the Spanish Archives of the U. S. Surveyor-General in San Francisco) may have been proposed by Governor Felipe de Neve and approved by the Viceroy in 1781. Although published by the Society in 1874, it was not issued until after August of 1875. Of 150 copies printed, all but six were later destroyed in a fire.

3. PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, part I. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1887. xxxii + 94 p.

These *Papers* contain a list of the officers and members of the Society, a brief history of the Society, its by-laws, and four articles by its members: Martin Kellogg, "The Local Units of History"; Bernard Moses, "Data of Mexican and United States History"; John T. Doyle, "History of the Pious Fund of California"; and William Carey Jones, "The First Phase of the Conquest of California."

4. PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, part II. History of the College of California. By Samuel H. Willey. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1887. 440 p. *Index*.

The entire volume is devoted to the article by Dr. Willey

5. IDENTIFICATION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S ANCHORAGE ON THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA IN THE YEAR 1579. By George Davidson. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. San Francisco: Bacon & Company. [CHS Publication]. 1890. 58 p. *15 maps*.

This is a copy of an address read before the Society on March 12, 1889. Professor Davidson had originally believed that Sir Francis Drake entered San Francisco Bay. In this article he revealed a change in belief, and maintained that "the great circumnavigator anchored in Drake's Bay; . . . there remains not the shadow of a doubt in my mind as to the exact locality." It is a curious coincidence that the Society which Professor Davidson addressed on this occasion played such a significant role in revealing and documenting the discovery of the Plate of Brass some forty-seven years later. (See items 20, 21, and 32 in this bibliography.)

6. GEORGE BANCROFT AND HIS SERVICES TO CALIFORNIA. Memorial Address, Delivered May 12, 1891, before the California Historical Society. By Theodore H. Hittell. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1893. 20 p.

The address was read before a large audience by Mr. Hittell in accordance with a motion to honor the memory of George Bancroft made at a meeting of the Society on March 10, 1891. Published with the address is a list of the officers of the Historical Society of the State of California (1852) and a similar list for the California Historical Society (1886).

7. CALIFORNIA HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, PUBLICATION NO. III. San Francisco: Publication Committee of the Society. 1902. 86 p. *Portrait, index*.

This publication contains two articles of an essentially historic nature: "The Spanish Press of California (1833-1844)," by Robert E. Cowan, and "A California Pioneer (José Francisco de Ortega . . .)," by Zoeth S. El-dredge. Although "Publication No. III" is a part of the title, publications numbers I and II appeared before the merger and are the product of the Genealogical Society alone. Publication No. III was printed by the T. C. Russell Company, San Francisco.

THE SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

THE PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY is to collect, preserve, and disseminate information relating to the history of California and the West. Its publication program has been a primary means of achieving the third of these goals. Under the guidance of a Publication Committee since 1922, the Society has published a quarterly journal, monthly notes,

broad­sides, keepsakes, miscellaneous items, and a series of forty-five special publications.*

These special publications, often but not always reprints from the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, were selected by the Committee for their significance to California history, their scholarly authority, and their style. Although they have varied considerably in size and format, particular care has been taken to achieve a high quality of printing. Maps and illustrations have been abundant. Binding has varied from paper to cloth to deluxe cased editions. Most of the special publications have been issued in limited editions, many of them becoming collector's items shortly after publication.

Several series have developed: California Town Histories, a series on Christmas in California, another growing up around the discovery of Drake's Plate of Brass. Most of the special publications, however, have been selected according to an eclectic pattern, the Publication Committee choosing those items which seemed most significant at the time.

8. THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT JOHN MCHENRY HOLLINGSWORTH, of the First New York Volunteers (Stevenson's Regiment), September 1846–August 1849: Being a Recital of the Voyage of the *Susan Drew* to California; the Arrival of the Regiment in 1847; its Military Movements and Adventures During 1847–1848–1849; Incidents of Daily Life, and Adventures of the Author in the Gold Mines. 1923. vii + 61 p. *Frontis*.

Special publication no. 1, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. I, no. 3. Three hundred copies were printed, of which fifty were issued on large paper and specially bound for Templeton Crocker. "The original manuscript of the Hollingsworth Journal . . . was written in a ruled notebook, 6 x 8½ inches, 327 pp., and illustrated with a number of pencil and watercolor sketches of scenes in South America and California."

9. A FRENCHMAN IN THE GOLD RUSH, the Journal of Ernest de Massey, Argonaut of 1849. Translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. 1927. 183 p. *Illus., map*.

Special publication no. 2, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. V, no. 1 and vol. VI, no. 1. Many of the French who came to California in the Gold Rush were from families of means, members of the intellectual rather than the working class. Ernest de Massey was one of these. Although he re-

*Although the California Historical Society was the publisher of items listed under "Early Publications," the imprint on the title page is liable to misinterpretation; hence it is shown. After 1922, however, the imprint on all items (except for miscellany having no imprint) is "San Francisco California Historical Society." Therefore, only the date of publication will be listed below.

turned to France in 1857, apparently without achieving wealth in the gold fields, his observations of life in California at the time reveal a quick eye and a deft pen. Mrs. Wilbur wrote a short preface for the edition. 250 copies in blue cloth.

10. JAMES CLYMAN, AMERICAN FRONTIERSMAN, 1792-1881: The Adventures of a Trapper and Covered Wagon Emigrant as Told in His Own Reminiscences and Diaries. Edited by Charles L. Camp. 1928. 251 p. *Portraits, maps, index*.

Special publication no. 3, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. IV, nos. 2-4; vol. V, nos. 1-4; vol. VI, no. 1. In the foreword Camp observed, "Clyman's narratives are printed here without change except for the addition of supplementary material. . . . His style is simple and quaint, rich with the lore of the plains and mountains, full of keen, intelligent observation of men and events. . . . Kindliness, good humor, shrewd common sense, innate honesty and cool self-confidence characterize the man. . . . The moving force in his career was an intense love of the freedom of the wilderness. . . . He outlived his times completely." 300 copies in blue cloth.

11. SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Henry R. Wagner. 1929. viii + 571 p. *Maps, facsim., biblio., index*.

Special publication no. 4, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. VI, no. 4; vol. VII, nos. 1-4; vol. VIII, no. 1. This is a scholarly work of major proportions. The preface states that it is the result of a plan "to publish all the information obtainable regarding the voyages of the Spaniards to the Northwest Coast of America down to 1769." The text occupies 274 pages. This is followed by 123 pages of notes; an appendix of 116 pages containing facsimiles of petitions, journals, and logs relative to the voyages; a 6-page "List of Printed Works Cited"; and an index. Maps are inserted throughout. 400 copies were printed by James J. Gillick & Co., Inc., Berkeley, and bound in blue cloth. 25 copies were specially bound, numbered, extra-illustrated, and signed by the author.

12. THE PIONEER MINER AND THE PACK MULE EXPRESS. By Ernest A. Wiltsee. 1931. [x] + 112 p. *Frontis., illus., maps*.

Special publication no. 5. The United States Postal Service has, on some occasions, been accused of certain limitations. These complaints have encouraged the existence of private express companies. In fact, Mr. Wiltsee lists 446 express companies which operated at one time or another in the West. (He provides a second list which shows the areas in which they operated.) This book is particularly concerned with the "relation of these early express companies to the life of the mining regions, and their large share in the early history and progress of the State. . . ." 450 copies bound in blue cloth.

13. THE TOPOGRAPHICAL REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY. Introduction and notes by Francis P. Farquhar. 1933. 81 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 6, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XI, nos. 2-4. George Horatio Derby was an officer in the United States Army, an engineer, a writer, and a wit. His humorous writings were collected and published in two books, *Phoenixiana* and *The Squibob Papers*, the former gaining considerable popularity. His professional writings are illustrated by the three reports contained in this book; a reconnaissance of the Lower Colorado River; the Sacramento Valley in 1849; and the "Tulares Valley" in 1850. Mr. Farquhar prepared "especially for this volume the sections dealing with Lieutenant Derby's sojourn at San Diego and with his later career." 150 copies, paper wrappers.

14. THE RUSSIANS IN CALIFORNIA. By T. Blok, *et al.* 1933. 88 p. *Illus., maps, biblio.*

Special publication no. 7, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XII, no. 3. This book contains four sections, each by a different writer, plus the bibliography. The first section is a translation of chapter VII of T. Blok's *Brief Geographical-Statistical Description of California* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Navy Printing Office, 1850). There follows "The Russian Settlement at Ross," by E. O. Essig; "Russian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the California Coast, 1803-1841," by Adele Ogden; and "The Russian Withdrawal from California," by Clarence John DuFour. The "Bibliography Relating to the Russians in California" contains 120 entries. 400 copies, red cloth and paper wrappers.

15. THE INSIDE STORY OF THE GOLD RUSH. By Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, Consul of France at Monterey. Translated and edited from documents in the French Archives by Abraham P. Nasatir, in collaboration with George Ezra Dane, who wrote the introduction and conclusion. 1935. ix + 94 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 8, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIII, nos. 1-4. "The Forty-niners were almost as well supplied with pen and ink as with picks and pans, and the accounts they left of their hopes, hardships and disillusionments have kept the presses going ever since. But reliable contemporary accounts of the local rush of '48 . . . are surprisingly few, and of those few Moerenhout's recital is doubtless the most complete that we possess." Illustrations and a fine set of notes add to the value of this book. Printed by Lawton Kennedy, San Francisco. 200 copies.

16. ANNALS OF LOS ANGELES, From the Arrival of the First White Men to the Civil War, 1769-1861. By J. Gregg Layne. 1935. 97 p. *Illus.*

Special publication no. 9, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIII, nos. 3 and 4. The author's purpose is to tell the story of the founding and growth

of Los Angeles. Military activities associated with the American conquest are treated only briefly since they have been the subject of so much writing elsewhere. Mr. Layne concentrates on "side-lights of interest [in] local history." Printed by Lawton Kennedy, San Francisco, this is the first in a series dealing with the history of early California towns. 200 copies.

17. INDEX TO THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO. Compiled by Charles Francis Griffin. Foreword by Douglas S. Watson. 1935. 22 p.

Special publication no. 10. *The Annals of San Francisco*, by Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, was published by D. Appleton & Company in 1855. This book of 824 pages contains a summary of the history of California, "a complete history of all important events connected with its great city," and biographical memoirs of prominent citizens. An index to *The Annals* was first published in a limited mimeograph edition by Dr. Joseph Gaer on a SERA project. Initially unaware of Dr. Gaer's work, Dr. Charles F. Griffin had undertaken a similar project. When the overlap was discovered, Dr. Griffin utilized the Gaer Index, made additions, and thereby sought to publish an index "as nearly complete as it is possible to make." The result, printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, is the Society's tenth special publication. 200 copies.

18. THE STORY OF SAN JOSE, 1777-1869, California's First Pueblo. By Oscar Osburn Winther. Introduction by Douglas S. Watson. 1935. ii + 54 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 11, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIV, nos. 1 and 2. This is number two in the histories of early California towns. The intent of this series was to focus on the local events which provided the individual "personalities" of towns. The broader role of the community in the overall history of the State was set aside for another time. This book, then, is a "town biography" of California's first pueblo. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy. 150 copies.

19. THE BEGINNINGS OF MARYSVILLE. By Earl Ramey. Foreword by Douglas S. Watson. 1936. [vii] + 105 p. *Frontis., illus., maps.*

Special publication no. 12, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIV, nos. 3 and 4. This is the third and, unfortunately, last in the series on early California towns. Five more had been proposed—Sacramento, San Diego, Sonoma, Stockton, and Monterey—but they have yet to appear. In contrast to the other towns in the published series, Los Angeles and San Jose, Marysville was from its beginning a typical American town. Although settlement occurred at the junction of the Feather and Yuba rivers prior to the discovery of gold, the actual birth of the community is traced to the Gold Rush and the town's location at the end of the river route to the northern mines. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy. 200 copies.

20. DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS, EVIDENCE OF HIS VISIT TO CALIFORNIA IN 1579. By Herbert E. Bolton, *et al.* 1937. 64 p. *Frontis., plates, maps.*

Special publication no. 13, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. 1. This book contains five sections; pagination covers only the first four (57 pp.), although the Table of Contents lists the fifth section, "Aims and Purposes of California Historical Society" (plus a list of officers and members) as beginning on page 59. The main body of the text opens with a paper by Herbert E. Bolton, "Francis Drake's Plate of Brass," an address read before the California Historical Society on April 6, 1937, to announce the discovery of the Drake Plate. This is followed by Douglas S. Watson's "Drake and California," "Excerpts from Earliest Sources," and a "Bibliography" of 100 works relating to Sir Francis Drake compiled by Eleanor Bancroft. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy; typography by Harold N. Seeger.

21. DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS AUTHENTICATED, the Report on the Plate of Brass. By Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin. Foreword by Allen L. Chickering, and Biographical Note on Professor Fink by Joel H. Hildebrand. 1938. 28 p. *Plates.*

Special publication no. 14, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, no. 4. A sequel to special publication no. 13, this is an authoritative study of the Drake Plate by professionals fully competent to determine its authenticity. The work involves a detailed electrochemical analysis of the plate. Forty-nine photographs following page 28 present a visual approach to the analysis. Professor Fink and Mr. Polushkin conclude that "the brass plate examined by us is the genuine Drake Plate referred to in the book, *The World Encompassed by Sr Francis Drake*, published in 1628." Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, typography by Harold N. Seeger.

22. CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO, Part I, from June 1, 1854, to December 31, 1855. Compiled by Dorothy H. Huggins from the files of contemporary magazines and newspapers. Introduction by Douglas S. Watson. 1939. 124 p. *Frontis., illus., index.*

Special publication no. 15, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XV, nos. 1-4; vol. XVI, nos. 1-4; vol. XVII, nos. 1 and 2. Dorothy Huggins takes up where Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet left off. (See item no. 17 in this bibliography.) Her sources are the "tabulations of events which appeared in the *Pioneer* in 1854-1855, supplemented by research in the files of both the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin*." Thus her work provides a summary of and index to many of the significant events of the middle 1850's. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco. 300 copies.

23. CHAPTERS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, Including His Experiences in the Carolinas and Building of the Larkin House at Monterey; from his Original Manuscripts. Edited and with an introduction and notes by Robert J. Parker. Foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton. 1939. vii + 77 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 16, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, nos. 1-4. "Thomas Oliver Larkin was one of the few outstanding Americans in the history of California prior to the American conquest and occupation." The experiences which develop such an influential personality are significant, and a major portion of this book is an autobiographical account of such experiences. One chapter, "Building the Larkin House," is a detailed study of the building of an early California adobe. The house has become a landmark. 200 copies.

24. JUAN RODRÍGUEZ CABRILLO, Discoverer of the Coast of California. By Henry R. Wagner. 1941. 94 p. *Frontis.*

Special publication no. 17, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. VII, no. 1, plus added material. Cabrillo, first to explore the coast of California, entered San Diego Bay in September, 1542, then examined the coast at least as far north as Point Reyes. This book contains a summary of his journal plus notes. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, typography by Harold N. Seeger, with decorations by Robert Windrem, and initials by Fred Glauser. 750 copies.

25. A DOCTOR COMES TO CALIFORNIA, the Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847. Introduction and notes by George Walcott Ames, Jr., and a foreword by George D. Lyman. 1943. 97 p. *Frontis., maps.*

Special publication no. 18, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXI, nos. 3 and 4; vol. XXII, no. 1. The diary is significant for two reasons: first, descriptions of a journey to California via a Southwest trail are comparatively rare; second, this is one of only two complete diaries of Kearny's march from Santa Fé to San Diego. Dr. Griffin is important not only as a medical man who became known and respected throughout the state, but as an important figure in the development of Los Angeles, where he died in 1898 at the age of eighty-two.

26. FUR BRIGADE TO THE BONAVENTURA, John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833, for the Hudson's Bay Company. Edited by Alice Bay Maloney from the original manuscript journal in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, with a foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton, and a hitherto unpublished letter of John Work from the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. 1945. xxii + 112 p. *Frontis., photos, map, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 19, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXII, nos. 2-4; vol. XXIII, nos. 1 and 2, with the addition of a foreword and appendix D. With Pacific Coast headquarters at Fort Vancouver, Hudson's Bay Company sent expeditions of trappers into what is now northern California for a period of about twenty years. Much has been written about Jedediah Smith, J. J. Warner, and other American trappers, "but it is probably true that in the period indicated the employes of Hudson's Bay Company, coming from the north, took from California more beaver skins and other peltry than all the American fur gatherers combined." This book contains the journal of one of these expeditions. Printed by Lawton & Alfred Kennedy at The Westgate Press in Oakland. 500 copies.

27. MAP OF THE EMIGRANT ROAD, from Independence, Mo., to St. Francisco, California. By T. H. Jefferson. Introduction and notes by George R. Stewart. 1945. xi + 25 p. *Maps*.

Special publication no. 20. T. H. Jefferson crossed the plains and arrived in California with Lansford W. Hastings' party in 1846. His map, published in New York in 1849, with an "Accompaniment" which described the route, provided instructions regarding necessary equipment, food, etc., was one of the most reliable used by the 49'ers. 300 copies printed by Lawton & Alfred Kennedy at the Westgate Press in Oakland. The maps are reproduced on all-rag, opaque manifold paper and inserted in a pocket at the back of the book.

28. CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY, Centennial Papers on the Time, the Site and Artifacts. By Aubrey Neasham, *et al.* 1947. 56 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 21, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, no. 2. This book contains an Introduction by Joseph R. Knowland and three papers concerning the discovery of gold in California: Aubrey Neasham, "Sutter's Sawmill"; Robert F. Heizer, "Archaeological Investigation of Sutter Sawmill Site in 1947"; and Franklin Fenenga, "Artifacts from the Excavation of Sutter Sawmill, 1947." Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland; title vignette by Lowell Hecking.

29. LANCES AT SAN PASCUAL. By Arthur Woodward. 1948. 84 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 22, reprinted, with additions, from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXV, no. 4; vol. XXVI, no. 1. A retelling of the encounter between the Californios under General Andrés Pico and the Dragoons of Stephen Watts Kearny's "Army of the West." Appendices provide official lists of many of the men involved on both sides. Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland, title decorations by Lowell Hecking

30. THE JOURNAL OF MADISON BERRYMAN MOORMAN, 1850-1851. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Irene D. Paden, together with a biographical sketch of the author by his granddaughter, Louise Parks Banes. 1948. ix + 150 p. *Frontis., map, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 23. This is "one of the few diaries kept while traveling Hastings Cut-off." Moorman was both observant and articulate. By using his diary in 1946, almost one hundred years after it was written, the editor was able to trace the route of the Hastings Cut-off. Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland.

31. BEAR FLAG LIEUTENANT, The Life Story of Henry L. Ford [1822-1860], Together with Some Reproductions of Related and Contemporary Paintings by Alexander Edouart. By Fred B. Rogers. 1951. 87 p. *Frontis., plates, index.*

Special publication no. 24, reprinted with some changes and additions from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXIX, nos. 2-4; vol. XXX, nos. 1 and 2. The grizzly bear, "so respected as a fighter by Americans and Californians alike," appears on the state flag as a result, it is said, of a suggestion from Henry L. Ford, a pioneer of northern California, an Indian agent, and at one time a lieutenant in the Bear Flag Revolt. 250 copies of this book were printed at the Westgate Press in Oakland.

32. THE PLATE OF BRASS, Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579. By Herbert E. Bolton, *et al.* 1953. vi + 102 p. *Frontis., plates, map, biblio.*

Special publication no. 25, reprinted, with added material, from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. 1; vol. XVII, no. 4. This is a re-issue under one cover of special publications 13 and 14. To the original material has been added a preface by Allen L. Chickering and Robert F. Heizer which summarizes information gathered since the first publications. Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

33. JEDEDIAH SMITH AND HIS MAPS OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat. Introduction by Carl I. Wheat. 1954. 86 p. *Maps.*

Special publication no. 26. Measuring 11 x 17 inches, this book is a scholarly study of a complex subject and a fine example of excellence in printing. The title may be somewhat misleading, since to date, "no original Jedediah Smith map has been found, despite long and assiduous search by numerous investigators. Fire is said to have destroyed Smith's personal papers. . . ." However, it is apparent that the "early West's greatest single explorer" did produce several maps which were used by other map makers. This study examines the influence of Smith on the exploration and mapping of the West. Four maps are inserted within the text. Three are placed in a pocket on the inside back cover. 530 copies were printed by Lawton R. Kennedy in San Francisco. Map lithography by Charles R. Wood and Associates.

34. CHRISTMAS IN CALIFORNIA: Part One, Christmas at Sutter's Fort in 1847, by John Bonner; Part Two, Christmas Before the Americans Came, by José Ramón Pico. [1956] 37 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 27.] This is the first of a series dealing with Christmas in California. 1000 copies were designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy.

35. PORT ADMIRAL: PHINEAS BANNING, 1830-1885. By Maymie Krythe. Introduction by W. W. Robinson. 1957. xv + 251 p. *Illus., photos, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 28. In 1851, Phineas Banning arrived in San Pedro at the age of twenty-one. When he died in 1885 his reputation was established as a major figure in the development of the state. His role in the building of the Port of Los Angeles is the basis for the book's title. 1000 copies printed by Anderson, Ritchie & Simon: The Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles.

36. CHRISTMAS AT RANCHO LOS ALAMITOS. By Katharine Bixby Hotchkis. Foreword by Susanna Bryant Dakin. 1957. 28 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 29.] This is the second in the series describing Christmas in California. Illustrations are by Clement Hurd. 1000 copies printed by Lawton Kennedy.

37. FABULOUS SAN SIMEON, A History of the Hearst Castle, a California State Monument located on the scenic coast of California, together with a Guide to the Treasures on Display. By Oscar Lewis. Photographs by Philip Negus Frasse. [1958] 86 p.

[Special publication no. 30.] *Fabulous San Simeon* is an illustrated descriptive guide to the Hearst Castle. Paper bound edition. Designed by Lawton Kennedy; lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Co.; drawings by Mallette Dean. Distributor: Lane Book Company as of April, 1963.

38. NAVIDAD, A Christmas Day with the Early Californians, by Don Arturo Bandini; PASTORELA, A Shepherd's Play, translated, with a note, by Gwladys Louise Williams. [1958] 51 p. *Frontis., illus.*

[Special publication no. 31.] Third in the series describing Christmas in California, *Navidad*, a gentle, nostalgic vignette, was originally published in the *Californian Illustrated* of December, 1892. *Pastorela*, a combination of three shepherds' plays, is an example of the communal Christmas program as celebrated in early Spanish California. Editor's note by Susanna Bryant Dakin. Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy; illustrated by Clement Hurd.

39. LOS ANGELES, FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO, Together with a Guide to the Historic Old Plaza Area, Including the Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historical Monument. By W. W. Robinson. 1959. 97 p. *Illus., map.*

[Special publication no. 32.] Published in both paper and cloth bound editions, this is an illustrated guide to one of the State's historical monuments. Photographs and illustrations are from many sources. Designed by Lawton Kennedy; lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Company. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company as of April, 1963.

40. CHRISTMAS IN THE GOLD FIELDS, 1849, the Reminiscences of Joseph J. McCloskey and Hermann J. Sharmann, with Illustrations Taken from Contemporary Letter Sheets. 1959. 35 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 33.] These reminiscences are based on personal interviews which were printed in the San Francisco *Call* on December 19, 1909. The illustrations are from the Society's collection of lithographed letter sheets. Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company.

41. DONNER PASS AND THOSE WHO CROSSED IT, the Story of the Country Made Notable by the Stevens Party, the Donner Party, the Goldhunters, and the Railroad Builders; with Old and New Illustrations showing the Pass in Summer and Winter. By George R. Stewart. 1960. 96 p. *Illus., map.*

[Special publication no. 34.] This is the third in a series of illustrated guides to prominent California landmarks. Illustrations are from many sources. Published in paper and cloth bound editions, this book was designed by Lawton Kennedy and lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Company. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company.

42. PORTALS WEST, a Folio of Late Nineteenth Century Architecture in California. By E. Geoffrey Bangs. Preface by Robert Gordon Sproul. 1960. 86 p. 36 *plates.*

Special publication no. 35. *Portals West* illustrates and describes architecture as represented in northern California in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. 1000 copies were printed by H. S. Crocker Co., Inc., San Francisco. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

43. TIME'S WONDROUS CHANGES, SAN FRANCISCO ARCHITECTURE, 1776-1915. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. Foreword by Susanna Bryant Dakin. 1962. [x] + 67 p. 44 *plates, biblio., map, index.*

Special publication no. 36. Impetus for this publication was the conference of the National Trust for Historic Preservation held in San Francisco in 1962. The text by Dr. Baird reveals four periods of influence on San Francisco architecture. 1000 copies designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy.

44. A KEMBLE READER, Stories of California, 1846-1848. By Edward Cleveland Kemble, early California journalist. Edited by Fred Blackburn Rogers. 1963. xiii + 168 p. *Frontis., illus., biblio., index.*
Special publication no. 37. Kemble was associated either as editor or proprietor with the most important early newspapers in the state, the *California Star*, the *California Star and Californian*, the *Alta California*, and the *Placer Times*. This is a sample of his writings concerning aspects of early California history. Designed and printed in an edition of 1000 copies by Howell-North Press, Berkeley. Distributor: Lane Book Company.
45. EL TRIUNFO DE LA CRUZ, the First Ship Built in the Californias. By Theodore H. Hittell. [1963] 15 p.
Special publication no. 38. This is a reprint of an essay which first appeared in *The Californian* of January, 1880. Printed by Roger Levenson at the Tamalpais Press, Berkeley. Distributor: Lane Book Company.
46. THE CALIFORNIA DIARY OF FAXON DEAN ATHERTON, 1836-1839. Edited, with an Introduction, by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. 1964. xxxii + 246 p. *Frontis., illus., map, biblio., index.*
Special publication no. 39. The town of Atherton is named for Faxon Dean Atherton, a man of business. "He had the dreamer's eye; the realist's wisdom." He also had the ability to write a terse, fast-moving diary. Printed in Los Angeles at the Ward Ritchie Press, 325 copies appeared in a deluxe edition, 1550 copies in a limited edition. Distributor: Lane Book Company.
47. MISSIONARY IN SONORA, the Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S. J., 1755-1767. Translated and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein. 1965. xviii + 196 p. *Maps, index.*
Special publication no. 40. The travel reports of Father Och are presented in three parts: "Journey to the Missions"—from Würzburg to Sonora; "Expulsion of the Jesuits and Return to Spain"—and finally to Würzburg again; "Reports on America in General"—concerning the characteristics of the Indians of Sonora, stock raising, gold and silver mines, and other things. Designed by Adrian Wilson. Maps and drawings by Ruth Chatfield. Distributor: Lane Book Company.
48. INDEX TO CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY, Volumes One to Forty, 1922-1961. Preface by Donald C. Biggs. 1965. [x] + 483 p.
Special publication no. 41. A cumulative index of the *Quarterly* for the first thirty-nine years of its existence, this is an invaluable research tool for the history of California and the West. A second index, following the *Quarterly* up to 1971, is in process. This volume was designed by Adrian Wilson and printed by Anderson, Ritchie and Simon

49. **SAN FRANCISCO BAY, DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION, 1769-1776.** By Theodore E. Treutlein. 1968. xii + 152 p. *Illus., maps, index.*
Special publication no. 42. Dr. Treutlein traces the story from the genesis of the Portolá Expedition of 1769 to the founding of the Presidio and Mission at San Francisco in 1776. Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.
50. **A PICTORIAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY OF MONTEREY, ADOBE CAPITAL OF CALIFORNIA, 1770-1847.** By Jeanne Van Nostrand. 1968. 100 p. *40 plates, index.*
Special publication no. 43. This large book with reproductions of paintings, many in color, treats of the discovery and settlement of Monterey, the Spanish days, Mexican era, and the American occupation in 1846-1847. A section is devoted to "Historical and Biographical Notes on The First Pictures and Artists of Monterey." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Type faces are Van Dijk and Monterey, composed by MacKenzie & Harris, Inc., San Francisco. Printing by Cardinal Company, San Francisco, under the supervision of Charles R. Wood. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.
51. **VIZCAÍNO, AND SPANISH EXPANSION IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1580-1630.** By W. Michael Mathes. 1968. [xvi] + 186 p. *Illus., maps, biblio., index.*
Special publication no. 44. The role of Sebastián Vizcaíno in the exploration of the California coast has not been recognized as fully as it might be. In this book, Dr. Mathes presents Vizcaíno "as a major figure in Spanish expansion in the Pacific." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.
52. **WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN: GOLD RUSH BANKER.** By Dwight L. Clarke. 1969. xviii + 446 p. *Frontis., photos., biblio., index.*
Special publication no. 45. Before Sherman was a general in Georgia, he was a banker in California. Since the banking took place in San Francisco during the Gold Rush, it "may well have played a part in maturing Sherman's judgment of men and their mettle." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.

PERIODICALS

SINCE THE REORGANIZATION in 1922, publication has been a primary goal of the Society. The special publications have appeared on an average of almost once a year, but at irregular intervals. The *Quarterly* and the *Notes* have appeared on a regular basis since their inception in

1922 and 1949 respectively. Averaging slightly more than 400 pages per volume through 1970, the *Quarterly* has published roughly 20,000 pages concerning the history of California and the West. During this time it has maintained a consistently high level of selection, editing, and printing. The *Notes* have presented the on-going activities of the Society in a briefer, less formal style, but with similar concern for quality in printing.

53. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY.

Volume I, no. 1 of the *Quarterly* is dated July, 1922. Although the journal has been published as a quarterly without interruption since that time, the first volume contains only three numbers—July, 1922, October, 1922, and January, 1923. The four numbers in volume II are dated April, July, October, 1923, and January, 1924. In volume III the numbers are dated April, July, October, and December, 1924. Thereafter, the numbers have appeared regularly in March, June, September, and December of each year.

An annual index was issued as a separate for volumes I to XV; thereafter, it was bound with the December issue. A cumulative index covering volumes I to XL (1922-1961) was issued as special publication no. 41 in 1965. (See item no. 48 in this bibliography.) A second cumulative index is in process.

The *Quarterly* has published authoritative articles on the history of California and the West, the volumes averaging approximately 400 pages per year. Book reviews have been a part of the journal since its beginning. A few illustrations and inserts appear in the early volumes; after volume V in 1926, they appear with greater frequency.

Published in octavo since its beginning, the title on the cover has alternated between *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* and *California Historical Society Quarterly*; the former was no longer used after volume XII (1933). With the March issue of 1971 (vol. L, no. 1), the title became *California Historical Quarterly*. Changes in the design of the cover have occurred with volumes VII, XI, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXIII, XXXIII, XL, XLIV, and L.

The first issues of the *Quarterly* were printed in Berkeley by H. S. Howard. In 1926, James Gillick took over the printing. A new level of style was established by Lawton Kennedy after he became printer of the journal in 1933. Through several changes between 1933 and 1964, Lawton Kennedy kept the format of the *Quarterly* abreast or ahead of comparable journals. From 1964 to

the present, Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, of Los Angeles, have printed the journal.

The Johnson Reprint Corporation offers copies of volumes I through XXIII (1922-1944). Single issues of later numbers are still available at the Society's headquarters. Reprints of issues after 1944 will become available in the future.

54. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES.

In December, 1948, a pamphlet was published by the Society titled *Notes from the California Historical Society*. It contained a "Prologue" which read in part as follows: "For some months the Board of Directors has felt the need of a channel of communication, which will be more informal than the *Quarterly*, between the Society and its members. They have long wanted to supply the distant members who are unable to visit the headquarters with news of the activities centered here. Now, in view of the spreading geographical distribution of the membership, and with its rapid growth—it has, in the past three years, doubled—the need has become urgent. And so, with this preliminary issue, the Society is introducing to its friends its monthly *Notes*, with volume I, number 1 in preparation for an appearance in January."

The *Notes* have been published each month for ten months of the year (July and August excepted) since 1949, with the exception of 1956, when an issue appeared for all twelve months. From 1949 to June, 1957, the *Notes* were printed on light green paper (9 x 6 inches) and contained no illustrations. With the September issue of 1957, the paper was changed to glossy white and photographs and illustrations became a part of each issue. With volume XXII, no. 8 (October, 1970), the format was increased to 7 x 10 inches and photographs were given greater prominence. Starting with volume XXIII (1971), the *Notes* were issued only in January, February, April, May, July, October, and November.

The title has varied slightly: *Notes from the California Historical Society* (vol. I to vol. IX, no. 6); *California Historical Society Notes* (vol. IX, no. 7 to vol. XIV); *Notes California Historical Society* (vol. XV to vol. XXII, no. 7); and *California Historical Society Notes* (vol. XXII, no. 8 to date).

ART CATALOGUES

THE FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT—now the Exhibits Department—is involved in art history research as a regular part of its program. Over the years it has published a number of art catalogues to accompany some of its more important exhibits of California artists and collections. These catalogues have been printed in limited paper bound editions. Two less ambitious pamphlets have been included in this section, since they describe art exhibits held at the Society.

55. THE GOLDEN GATE AND FORT POINT. [1960] 6 p. (folded.)

A pamphlet concerning an exhibition of paintings dealing with the Golden Gate and Fort Point, the contents are: "Introduction," "Fort Point," and "Exhibition." Twenty-nine paintings are listed. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (December 7, 1960 to January 30, 1961). Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

56. GRACE CARPENTER HUDSON (1865-1937), Oil Paintings and Sketches, Including Works on Loan from C. Frederick Faudé. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. [1962] 18 p. *Frontis.*, 3 *plates*, *biblio.*

Catalogue 1, California artists series. The frontispiece is a photograph of the artist at her home in Ukiah. The catalogue includes a biography of Grace Carpenter Hudson, a bibliography, a list of works on loan to the Society from the Faudé Galleries for the exhibit, a similar list from the Sloss Collection, and three reproductions of the artist's paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (May 22-August 1, 1962). Catalogue size: 8½ x 11 inches.

57. SAMUEL MARSDEN BROOKES (1816-1892), An Exhibition Jointly Sponsored by The California Historical Society and The Oakland Art Museum. Edited by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., with contributions from Lucy Agar Marshall and Lewis Ferbraché. [1962] 38 p. *Frontis.*, 10 *plates*, *biblio.*

Catalogue 2, California artists series. The frontispiece is a self portrait of the artist in 1885. The catalogue includes a description of the artist's family background (including a family tree), a chronology of his life, a discussion of his art, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Samuel M. Brookes," four photographs of the artist, and nine reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (November 10 to December 29, 1962); Oakland Art Museum (January 5 to February 3, 1963). 300 copies printed Size 8½ x 11 inches

58. RAYMOND DABB YELLAND (1848-1900). Compiled by Kent L. Seavey. [1964] 18 p. *Frontis.*, 3 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 3, California artists series. The frontispiece is a photograph of R. D. Yelland and two students of his sketch class. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist, a chronology of his life, a selected bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Raymond D. Yelland," and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (May 15 to July 10, 1964). 200 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

59. FRANCIS JOHN MCCOMAS (1875-1938). By Kent L. Seavey. [1965] 22 p. *Frontis.*, 3 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 4, California artists series. The frontispiece is a portrait photograph of the artist. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist (including quotations from an interview of about 1910), a chronology of the artist's life, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Francis John McComas," and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (January 15 to March 20, 1965). 250 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

60. CHARLES DORMAN ROBINSON (1847-1933). By Kent L. Seavey. [1965] 22 p. *Frontis.*, 4 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 5, California artists series. The frontispiece is a portrait photograph of the artist. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of the Works of Charles Dorman Robinson," a photograph of the artist as a boy, and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (December 21, 1965 to March 11, 1966). 250 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

61. IN THE OPEN, Watercolors by E. Geoffrey Bangs. 1968. 4 p.

This pamphlet-catalogue includes a one paragraph biography of Mr. Bangs, a list of 64 paintings, and a discussion by the artist of watercolor painting. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (September 3 to 22, 1968). Size: 8 x 10 inches.

62. THE DR. AND MRS. BRUCE FRIEDMAN COLLECTION. Edited by Joseph A. Baird, Jr. [1969] 31 p. 11 plates.

The catalogue includes a foreword by Lewis Ferbraché, an introduction by Bruce Friedman, a "Catalogue" of the Friedman Collection with biographies and notes by Lewis Ferbraché, and eleven reproductions of paintings in the collection. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (September 30 to November 15, 1969). Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

ONCE PAST THE RELATIVELY well mapped area of books and periodicals, with their comparatively consistent formats and their usually present imprints, the bibliographer approaches the wilderness of miscellaneous materials—pamphlets, separates, reprints, brochures, broadsides, reports, keepsakes, invitations, announcements, notices, and, for want of a better word, ephemera. The California Historical Society has not been remiss in publishing this sort of material. Some of it should be preserved and described and listed; some of it will not be missed. I have selected items representative of a cross section of this miscellaneous material.

There are numerous reprints from the *Quarterly*. My selection includes those listed as part of a pamphlet series on the back cover of certain issues of the *Quarterly*. Among other miscellaneous items, I have selected those which relate to a significant event or which reveal particular care in printing. The number selected has been determined by a desire to end this bibliography at 100 items—appropriate for a centennial, satisfying to the orderly instincts of a bibliographer.

63. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1890-91. By A. S. Hubbard. 1891. 4 p.
Printed on light blue paper (5½ x 8½ inches). The title page lists Jno. R. Jarboe as President and A. S. Hubbard as Secretary and Librarian. The Society was located at 819 Market St., San Francisco. The report includes a list of meetings held, papers read, a financial report, and a membership report.
64. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY will hold its November Meeting for 1891, on Tuesday evening, the 10th inst., at 8 o'clock, in its rooms in the building of the California Academy of Sciences, 819 Market Street, San Francisco. 1891. 1 p.
This notice on a single sheet of white paper (5½ x 8¼ inches) announces a talk by Professor William Carey Jones titled "Journal of a U. S. Soldier to California in 1846-7."
65. ADVENTURES ON THE PLAINS. By Charles Cardinell. 1922. 15 p.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (July, 1922). The original title was "Adventures of the Plains," from three articles in the San Francisco *Chronicle* (January 21, February 5, and February 16, 1856). 150 copies issued separately.
66. KIT CARSON IN CALIFORNIA, With Extracts from His Own Story. By Charles L. Camp. 1922. 41 p. *Photo*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (October, 1922). 150 copies.

67. PORTSMOUTH SQUARE. By Helen Throop Purdy. 1924. 17 p.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (April, 1924). 100 copies.
68. THE MEMOIRS OF LEMUEL CLARKE MCKEEBY. 1924. 75 p. *Map*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (April and July, 1924). 100 copies.
69. CALIFORNIA BIBLIOGRAPHIES, A List Compiled by Willard O. Waters of the Henry E. Huntington Library. 1924. 16 p.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (October, 1924). 60 copies.
70. EXPLORATION OF THE SIERRA NEVADA. By Francis P. Farquhar. 1925. 58 p. *Photos*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1925). 270 copies, "of which seventy are for private distribution by the author."
71. THE SCALPEL UNDER THREE FLAGS IN CALIFORNIA. By George D. Lyman. 1925. 67 p. *Photos*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1925); "parts of this paper were published in the recent historical number of *California and Western Medicine*." 100 copies, 50 reserved for the author.
72. CAMELS IN WESTERN AMERICA. By A. A. Gray, Francis P. Farquhar, and William S. Lewis. 1930. 48 p. *Illus., biblio*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1930). 300 copies.
73. GEORGE DAVIDSON, GEOGRAPHER OF THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA. By Henry R. Wagner. [1933?] 24 p. *Portrait, biblio*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1932). 50 copies.
74. A TRIP TO THE MINING REGIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1859, "California Staats-Kalender" in the Leap Year, A.D. 1860. By Eduard Vischer. Translated from the German by Ruth Frey Axe. [1933?] 41 p. *Illus*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September and December, 1932). 50 copies.

75. A CENSUS OF CALIFORNIA SPANISH IMPRINTS, 1833-1845. By George L. Harding. 1933. 18 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1933). 100 copies.

76. THE MEMOIRS OF THEODOR CORDUA, The Pioneer of New Mecklenburg in the Sacramento Valley. Edited and translated by Erwin G. Gudde. [1934?] 33 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1933). 100 copies, 75 reserved for the author.

77. WILLIAM ALEXANDER TRUBODY AND THE OVERLAND PIONEERS OF 1847. By Charles L. Camp. 1937. 22 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1937). 100 copies printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco.

78. AN ORDINANCE, JANUARY 30, 1847. By Wash'n A. Bartlett, Chief Magistrate. Published by order, J. G. T. Dunleavy, Municipal Clerk. [1938] 4 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet, issued for the official opening of the Society's headquarters at 456 McAllister Street. Copy of ordinance whereby the city's name was changed from Yerba Buena to San Francisco. Size of pamphlet: 6¼ x 5 inches. Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

79. PETER LASSEN, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA'S TRAIL-BLAZER. By Ruby Johnson Swartzlow. 1940. 24 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1939), printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco.

80. EDWARD VISCHER'S FIRST VISIT TO CALIFORNIA. Translated and edited by Erwin Gustav Gudde. 1940. 24 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September, 1940). Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

81. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF SEBASTIÁN RODRÍGUEZ CERMEÑO'S CALIFORNIA VISIT IN 1595. By Robert Fleming Heizer. A Paper read before the California Historical Society on December 16, 1941, and published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1941). With an Introduction by

Alfred Louis Kroeber and a Report by Colin Garfield Fink and Eugene Paul Polushkin on the Examination of Ten Iron Spikes Recently Found at Drake's Bay. 1942. 32 p. *Photos*.

Pamphlet series; the introduction by Kroeber and the report by Fink and Polushkin were added to the paper originally published by Heizer in the *Quarterly* in order to make this pamphlet. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

82. WHEN THE FRENCH CAME TO CALIFORNIA, by Gilbert Chinard, and CALIFORNIA UNVEILED, a translation by Désiré Fricot of Trény's "La Californie Dévoilée." 1944. 56 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1943 and March, 1944).

83. SAN FRANCISCO IN 1847. By Victor Prevost. 1944. 1 p.

Keepsake no. 1; a reproduction of an early lithograph in the collection of the Society. Size: 17 x 22 inches, folded. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

84. PILGRIMAGE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO THE SITE FROM WHERE THE SOLDIERS OF GOVERNOR GASPAR DE PORTOLÁ DISCOVERED THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO. 1948. 4 p.

Pamphlet containing notes from "The March of Portolá" by Zoeth S. Eldredge, a schedule of activities, and a list of members of the Historical Committee, Portolá Festival and Pageant of 1948.

85. RECOLLECTIONS OF TEMPLETON CROCKER, FOUNDER OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By Henry R. Wagner. 1950. 4 p.

Keepsake no. 2; 1500 copies printed by The Westgate Press.

86. AUCTION BY MAIL OF CALIFORNIANA, ETC. Recently purchased from the Estate of the late Commodore Ernest A. Wiltsee, Historian of note and a Vice President of the Society. There are also a few items additional. Compiled by A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D. [1950?] 8 p.

The Society was located at 456 McAllister Street. 246 items were listed for auction.

87. THE PERALTAS AND THEIR HOUSES. By J. N. Bowman. 1951. 19 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September, 1951). 200 copies printed by The Westgate Press.

88. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP BULLETIN—
SPRING, 1956. 4 p. *Illus.*

The Society was located in the Flood Building, 870 Market Street, at this time. Size of bulletin: 8½ x 11 inches.

89. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California. [1956] 4 p. *Photo.*

Centered on the front page is a photograph of the Society's new headquarters at 2090 Jackson Street. Pages 2 and 3 contain a description of this building from 1894 to 1956—date of construction to date of acquisition by the Society. On page 4 is a list of the Board of Directors.

90. SOME CALIFORNIA DATES OF 1860. Compiled by Gordon C. Roardarmel. [1960] 12 p.

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1959). Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

91. FRANCIS DRAKE'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA, 1579, AND HIS PLATE OF BRASS. 1961. 4 p. *Illus., facsim.*

Attached to page 2 of this brochure is a facsimile of the Plate of Brass on special, heavy weight, brass tinted paper. On page 3 Francis P. Farquhar describes the discovery of the Plate and states that it is genuine.

92. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR FOR 1961. [1962] 12 p. *Photos.*

Separate, from the *Quarterly* (March, 1962), pages 71-78. An individual cover was designed for this report. In the *Quarterly* the two photographs are inserted before the report; they are placed after the report in the separate.

93. SCHUBERT HALL, New Library of the California Historical Society. [1962] xii. *Photos., illus., diagrams.*

Reprint from the *Notes*, vol. XIV, no. 5. Originally inserted between pages 4 and 5 of the *Notes*; when issued as a reprint, a separate cover was designed. Outside front cover: Schubert Hall. Inside front cover: "This reprint . . . describes our acquisition of the building and our approach to its remodeling." Inside back cover: Officers and Board of Trustees of the Society.

94. HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER, The Mansion, September 27, 1962. 1 p.

This program was printed for the presentation of the Henry R. Wagner Award to Thomas Winthrop Streeter. Size. 13 x 19 inches, folded twice.

95. THE CALIFORNIA STAR, Facsimile of the April 1, 1848, Edition. [n.d.]

The "Express Extra" edition of *The California Star* carried a long promotional article by Dr. Victor G. Fourgeaud titled "Prospects of California." It also contained, on page 2, four sentences that lead off: "We saw a few days ago, a beautiful specimen of gold. . . ." 100 copies.

96. SAN FRANCISCO—1851; THE GOLDEN CITY AS THE ARGONAUTS SAW IT, from a seven plate daguerreotype panorama owned by the California Historical Society. Commentary and notes by Robert A. Weinstein. [1968]

Reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1968). This is a 60 inch panorama obtainable in two forms—folded in a cover, or rolled in a tube.

97. THE MANSION OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: 2090 JACKSON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. [1969] 18 p. *Frontis*.

A separate, from the *Quarterly* (December, 1969), pp. 308-324. Frontispiece is portrait of William Franklin Whittier, original owner of the house.

98. A DIRECTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE BAY AREA. Compiled by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., *et al.* 1970. 17 p.

99. THE 1970 HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER HONORING CHARLES L. CAMP. 1970. 4 p. *Portrait*.

The frontispiece is an invitation to the dinner. Second page: a portrait and bibliography of Charles L. Camp. Third page: list of dignitaries, nature of the Award. Fourth page: Selection Committee, Past Wagner Award Recipients, the Board of Trustees. Size: 7¼ x 11 inches. Designed and printed by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy.

100. ". . . IT IS A DANGEROUS-LOOKING PLACE." Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast. By Karl Kortum and Roger Olmsted. 1971. 16 p. *Photos*.

A pamphlet reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1971), this separate inaugurates a new series of offprints that will frequently be associated with traveling exhibitions. The publication of this pamphlet and the mounting of the exhibition, "Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast," was assisted by the Pacific Lumber Company.

W. Michael Mathes

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Early California Propaganda: The Works of Fray Antonio de la Ascencion

CALIFORNIA HAS LONG BEEN a favorite subject of propagandists. Hundreds of thousands of health seekers, land investors, manufacturers, farmers, pensioners, and speculators have been lured to California by the use of skillful propaganda. Most of this propaganda is of recent origin, beginning in the 1880's, with the great health and land boom; however, this modern promotion of California's advantages only elaborates and diversifies the labors of Fray Antonio de la Ascención in the seventeenth century.

Born in Salamanca, in 1573 or 1574, Fray Antonio studied cosmography in the university there and at the College for Pilots at Sevilla prior to coming to New Spain in 1597. In 1590, while still in Toro, Spain, Fray Antonio was ordained a priest in the Order of Discalced Carmelites.¹ He served at the Convent of San Sebastian of Mexico, in the Carmelite Province of San Alberto, and on February 20, 1602, was named by Provincial Fray Pedro de los Apóstoles to accompany Vicar and Commissary General Fray Andrés de la Asunción and Fray Tomás de Aquino on an expedition to California being mounted by Sebastián Vizcaíno, with the purpose of seeking a safe port for the Manila galleons.² Apart from carrying out ecclesiastical duties, Fray Antonio was to serve as Vicar in the event of Fray Andrés' death and was to employ his skill as a cosmographer by serving as assistant to cosmographer Gerónimo Martín Palacios.³

The Vizcaino expedition sailed from Acapulco on May 5, 1602, charted the California coast from Cabo San Lucas to Cape Mendocino, and made detailed maps, logs, and sailing directions. Fray Antonio served actively on the voyage, joining in exploration and going ashore whenever possible. Upon the return of the expedition to Acapulco on March 21, 1603, Fray Antonio accompanied Vizcaíno to the City of Mexico to aid in the preparation of reports.⁴ On November 8 and 19 the final official sailing directions and maps, as redrawn by Enrico Martínez, were completed and submitted to the Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevado, Conde de Monterrey,⁵ and they were remitted to the Crown on November 22.⁶

Fray Antonio had prepared an extensive set of sailing directions. These were, in the main, strictly factual in content and conformed with the official

documents; however, even at this early date Fray Antonio was beginning to reflect his strong sentiment toward California. Beginning at Cape Mendocino and ending at Acapulco, the sailing directions described landmarks, noted depths, wind direction, latitude, and anchorages—but at times commentary was suggested that might attract ships to the area. The lee of Point Reyes was described as a “port for all ships.” Monterey Bay was treated with greater superlatives, having “abundant and very fine pines for masts, arms and beams very near to the beach, . . . a very humid plain where, with little digging, very fine and abundant fresh water comes to the surface, . . .” and, “as a very fine stopping port for the China ships since this is the first place where they make landfall en route to New Spain.” The area of the Santa Barbara Channel also met with praise as being “extensively populated by people friendly to Spaniards, . . .” with Santa Catalina Island also having “many anchorages on the northeast side which afford protection from all sea winds. . . .” San Diego Bay was described as a “very good bay . . . very fine anchorage . . . protected from all winds without surf or undertow . . . which can be entered or left with much safety, . . .” and as having “very fine firewood and fresh water which is obtained by digging shallow wells. . . .” While little was stated relative to Ensenada de Todos Santos, the outer cove of Bahía San Quintín, named by Vizcaíno Once Mil Vírgenes, was considered a “very fine shelter . . . with very fine fresh water, . . .” and with “fisherman Indians that are very peaceful and friendly to the Spanish. . . .” Describing the southern coast of the peninsula, Fray Antonio found the area to abound in marine life, Isla de la Asunción being a place where “with lines, a ship may be filled with very fine fish in a short time”; while Isla San Roque had “a most extensive number of sea lions as large as sheep”; and Bahía de Ballenas had an “infinite number of whales which I believe come after fish which are infinite in number as are the birds of various species. . . .” In the lee of Cabo San Lucas (at the southernmost point of Baja California), Bahía de San Bernabé he said was a “good port . . . with much fresh water . . .” and “much firewood and fish. . . .” While Fray Antonio’s sailing directions reflect only minor exaggerations in light of the types of vessels employed at the time and the needs of their crews, there can be little doubt as to his enthusiasm toward California.⁷

Although this enthusiasm was shared by Vizcaíno as well as the Conde de Monterrey, plans for settlement in California met with opposition. In hearings before the Audiencia, in memorials, and in letters to the Crown, Vizcaíno urged the settlement of Monterey Bay during the years 1603 to 1608 but was halted by the successor to the Conde de Monterrey, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, who took office in 1604. Montesclaros, as did others, favored a port more centrally located in the galleon route from Manila to Acapulco and pressed for the discovery of the Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata, reputed to be in the mid-Pacific off the coast of Japan.⁸

During these years, Fray Antonio had remained silent relative to California, but he had not remained unappraised of the results of hearings and the various plans set forth for settlement and exploration of the Pacific. On June 18, 1608, Fray Antonio wrote to Felipe III from the Convent of San Sebastián stating that he had served on the Vizcaíno expedition of 1602-1603 as a cosmographer, that he was free from pretensions, and that after several days of meditation and prayer relative to the settlement of Monterey had decided to write in support of the settlement of San Bernabé at Cabo San Lucas. The voyage to Monterey, he continued, was of seven months duration with contrary winds, great illness among the crew, and a high mortality rate, whereas the voyage to Cabo San Lucas was short, the Manila galleons could be aided effectively, and supply would be less difficult. To accomplish the settlement of San Bernabé, four large ships would be necessary at a low cost, while Vizcaíno would require more vessels, incur greater expenses, and need two years to settle Monterey which is a "plan of the devil . . . since in the interim those souls at San Bernabé would be dying without having received Holy Baptism. . . ."

Reiterating his recommendation for the settlement of San Bernabé, Fray Antonio continued his letter by enumerating the benefits of such a plan:

"1-the avoidance of so much expense; 2-the planting of the Faith in that land to make war on the devil, which is the principal reason for everything said herein; 3-in that bay there are the finest pearl fishing grounds, I believe, in the universe which are easily worked and from which Your Majesty may acquire great wealth every year; famous fisheries of tuna, sardines and other fish as fine as in Vizcaya can be developed bringing great wealth to New Spain, and in the same port there is a great salt deposit for the enterprise; 4-this land is understood to be contiguous with that of New Mexico and very nearby are the famous towns said to be located there, although Don Juan de Oñate has not been able, by the route he has followed, to reach this province; . . .⁹ 5-to warn the Manila ships in the event of enemies along the coast it is the best port, since this is where the English took the ship *Santa Ana*; . . .¹⁰ with this settlement it will be easy to discover the extent of the gulf that is formed by the sea at this point, since it is presumed that it crosses to the Atlantic Ocean and if this is found to be the case, the Peruvian galleons and other ships in the Pacific could sail through this strait and reach Spain more easily than via Havana; . . .¹¹ and, to preserve this settlement Your Majesty would not need to make annual expenditures because there are millions of Spaniards settled in the province of Jalisco and the Culiacán coast who are only waiting that this port be populated so that they might cross to California with their fortunes, since the land is so fine and fertile and the passage easy and short. . . ."

Fray Antonio concluded his letter by requesting that, in the event of the settlement of California, the Province of San Alberto of the Discalced Carmelites be granted the mission field since they had done little in the conversion of New Spain.¹²

Despite his superlatives, ideals and beliefs in the Strait of Anian (Northwest Passage), Fray Antonio was as unsuccessful in his plea for the settlement of California as was Vizcaíno. On September 27, 1608, prior to the

receipt of Fray Antonio's letter, a Royal Order was issued quashing plans for California and providing for the discovery of the *Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata*.¹³ In direct answer to Fray Antonio, a Royal Order was issued to Viceroy Luis de Velasco on April 14, 1609, acknowledging the letter and remitting it to Velasco for his information without further comment.¹⁴

The Royal Order of September 27, 1608, virtually halted interest in California by focusing upon the western Pacific. Vizcaíno, charged with the discovery of the *Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata*, also carried out an embassy to Japan during the years 1611-1613, while Fray Antonio confined his labors to ecclesiastical duties at the convent of San Sebastián. Nevertheless, in 1613, during Vizcaíno's absence in Japan, Tomás de Cardona and his partners in Sevilla revived some interest by acquiring the exclusive rights to pearl fishing in the Gulf of California which had previously been granted to Vizcaíno in 1594.¹⁵ By 1615, the Cardona enterprise had outfitted an expedition in Acapulco under the leadership of Nicolás de Cardona and Juan de Iturbe. From March to October, 1615, Cardona and Iturbe searched for pearls in the gulf with minor success; and on the return voyage to Acapulco one of their ships was captured by the Dutch corsair, Joris van Spilbergen, bankrupting the operation and halting future expeditions.¹⁶

Even without the loss of one ship, the small quantity of pearls discovered had been insufficient to justify the expense of the expedition. Thus, in the years following the return of Cardona and Iturbe, California was again abandoned—except in the mind of Fray Antonio. Writing from San Sebastián in Mexico on October 12, 1620, Fray Antonio presented his "Descriptive account of California according to data obtained during the second voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno [1602] and norms for the peaceful occupation of California" to the Viceroy, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Guadalcázar.¹⁷

This document opened with a statement relative to the nature of the expedition, its personnel and the fact that a map, drawn by the author, had been presented to the Crown and the Council of the Indies. In accord with his letter of 1608, Fray Antonio then described the desolate area of San Bernabé, located across from Nueva Galicia on the Gulf of California which "extends to New Mexico, passes the Kingdom of Quivira, and terminates at the Strait of Anian. . . ." The gulf, he continued, was often called the *Mar Bermejo* (Vermillion Sea) because of the excrement of the great quantity of fish therein, that there were whales, "to the extent that they cannot be counted" both there and along the coast to Cape Mendocino, and that on both shores there were "many beds of oysters where many valuable and large pearls are cultivated and these are found as far up as thirty-six degrees latitude. . . ."¹⁸ Amplifying this concept of the wealth of the gulf, Fray Antonio enumerated the species of fish to be found including sardines, corbina, sturgeon, salmon, tuna, bonito, dolphin and whales, all in "infinite number" and which would "fill a net to the point of its breaking."

The wealth of the land surrounding San Bernabé was also sketched in superlatives. It was "very fertile and of beautiful appearance . . . with fine fields . . . for farming and the raising of cattle as well as sheep, goats and hogs. There is much game and game birds such as rabbit, hare, deer, lion, tiger, armadillo, pigeon, dove and quail, as well as many woods, fig trees . . . and near the beach, a grove of plum trees. . . ." Also near the beach "there is a lake of fine fresh water . . . and a small salt water lake . . . surrounded by fine tasty white salt. . . ." The many Indians living there "treated us with love and friendship. . . ." ¹⁹

Still writing of San Bernabé, Fray Antonio stated that this was "the place where His Majesty should order the founding of the first colony of Spaniards . . . and begin the preaching of the Holy Gospel. . . ." Furthermore, "nearby is the mountain range we call the Sierra Pintada or Sierra del Enfado which contains many different metals and from there can be extracted silver and gold. . . ." Terminating this treatise on San Bernabé, as always Fray Antonio recommended the sending of Discalced Carmelites to establish missions there.

Continuing his reflections upon the voyage, Fray Antonio described Bahía Magdalena as being fed by a "torrential river" and being the habitat of many whales which deposited ambergris there as well as along the entire coast.²⁰ At Bahía San Bartolomé the "ambergris, according to those who know it, is very fine . . . and perhaps God, Our Lord, will not permit others who go there to recognize it as such . . . so that His Majesty may enjoy its fruits. . . ." San Diego Bay also received high praise as a location for settlement, since the Indians were friendly, the bay secure, and "on the beach there was a large number of golden flowers, a manifest sign that in the surrounding hills there are gold mines. . . ." Ambergris, as well as various fine fish were found at San Diego, and the Indians employed a blue dye made from powdered blue stones "which appear to be of a metal rich in silver. . . ." At San Diego, Fray Antonio continued, the Indians indicated the presence in the interior of men like the Spaniards, who held silver in high esteem and who mined it, "that may be Dutch or English who sail through the Strait of Anian and could be settled on the gulf coast . . . and if such is the case His Majesty should investigate. . . ."

The next place of detailed interest to Fray Antonio was Monterey Bay²¹ "where the ships from the Philippines to New Spain make landfall . . ." and which was a "fine port, well protected and supplied with water, firewood and wood for masts of ships as well as for building them. . . ." The Carmel River entered the bay nearby and "when the China ships reach this anchorage after a four month voyage in need of repairs this is a very good port and it should be assured of settlement by Spaniards for aid to the voyagers and for the conversion of the Indians there to our Holy Faith, . . ." while the nearness to China and Japan would permit trade with those areas. The surrounding countryside he found "very fertile . . . with much game and

game birds . . . and among the animals there are very large and wild bears, others called antelope from which are obtained hides and others of the size of a heifer of the physical structure of deer . . . many fish and a great variety of shellfish . . . shells that are very beautiful with fine mother of pearl . . . and along the entire coast there is a great abundance of seals or sea dogs the size of a year old lamb which sleep on the surface of the water and other times come ashore to lie in the sun . . . and the Indians dress in their pelts. . . .”²²

The document continued with a cursory account of Drake’s Bay and Cape Mendocino, where Vizcaíno’s ship, the *San Diego*, could not maneuver due to the currents from the Strait of Anian. Because of these currents, “after eight days we had gained one degree of latitude which placed us in forty-three degrees in sight of a point which was named San Sebastián and next to which a river, named Santa Inés, empties. . . . Here is the headland and end of the Kingdom of California and the beginning and entrance to the Strait of Anian. . . .”²³ After this final description of California, Fray Antonio concluded the “Descriptive account” with a brief discussion of the return voyage to Acapulco, and proceeded with his “norms for the peaceful occupation of California.”

The most efficient means of pacifying and settling California, Fray Antonio stated, was through the conversion of the natives to Christianity. Recommendations as to the number of men and ships were made, and again the Discalced Carmelites were seen as the most worthy missionaries for this conversion. A fort and town should be constructed at San Bernabé, and provisions made for the introduction of livestock as well as wheat, corn, and grapevines. Fray Antonio then reiterated his arguments for the settlement of San Bernabé relative to the mineral wealth to be obtained in California and the value of the Gulf of California as an approach to New Mexico and the Strait of Anian, and he also amplified his statements with a treatise on the Colorado River (Río del Tizón). The river, he wrote, was an ideal entry to New Mexico and the settlement of the area could be accomplished through its use. Furthermore, “the lake of gold and towns of Rey Coronado are nearby, . . . and all may enjoy the fine pearl fisheries and mineral wealth, . . . the settlers of New Mexico from the lake of gold and those of California from the rich hills which contain an abundance of minerals rich in silver. . . .”²⁴ Finally, Fray Antonio concluded, the new conquests should be made under supervision of the Crown and not by private enterprise if success was to be assured.²⁵

Although Fray Antonio’s great memorial of 1620 received no official recognition, it did receive a great deal of acclaim by contemporary chroniclers. Franciscan Fray Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarquía Indiana* published by Mathias Clavijo in Sevilla in 1615 recounted the events of the voyage of 1602-1603 virtually verbatim from Fray Antonio and included his theories as to the wealth and the existence of the Strait of Anian.²⁶ Another Franciscan friend of Fray Antonio, Fray Gerónimo de Zarate Sal-

merón, in his widely consulted "*Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo México se han visto, . . . [1626]*" not only followed the accounts of the Vizcaíno voyage, but also included additional information relative to the Strait of Anian as recounted by Fray Antonio. This additional report stated that one Morena, a ship's pilot, was bound for England via the Strait of Anian as a prisoner of Francis Drake.²⁷ Becoming ill during the voyage, Morena was put ashore in the strait and, after four years of walking overland, reached New Mexico. Later, in Sombrerete, Morena recounted his adventure to Rodrigo del Río, Governor of Nueva Galicia, stating that he had seen Europeans with horses and lances who, according to Fray Antonio's report, were Muscovites.²⁸

Despite this acceptance of Fray Antonio's imaginative reporting, interest in California was not revived until 1627 with the presentation of a petition by Pedro Bastán for rights to fish for pearls in the Gulf of California.²⁹ Because of the claims of Nicolás de Cardona as well as Martín de Lezama, Vizcaíno's son-in-law, to prior rights to pearl fishing, a Royal Order was issued on August 2, 1628, requiring the Audiencia of México to take testimony relative to the value of California and the best means to accomplish its settlement.³⁰ Although such testimony was to be taken from all persons competent to give it, Fray Antonio, as the leading survivor of the Vizcaíno expedition, was the only witness specifically named, and was to be the first to testify.

Writing from the Carmelite convent in Valladolid (Morelia), Michoacán, on May 20, 1629, Fray Antonio presented his "First deposition. . ."³¹ This document summarized the more lengthy memorial of 1620 and particularly reiterated the value of the Gulf of California as an approach to the Strait of Anian and New Mexico, the ideal situation of San Bernabé for settlement, and the importance of the Colorado River as a means of reaching Quivira. Only a few lines were given to the essential events of the voyage, but Fray Antonio did not omit the fact that one of its results was the obtaining of "positive knowledge of great wealth in silver, gold, pearls and ambergris. . ."

Motivated by the Royal Order of August 2, 1628, Fray Antonio did not halt his efforts with one document. On June 8, a "Second deposition, . . ." repeated his previous statements and emphasized the importance of the Strait of Anian as a Spanish defensive outpost.³² To accompany his testimony, Fray Antonio also presented a map and his "Report relative to the discovery made from New Spain in the South Sea from the Port of Acapulco to Cape Mendocino, . . ." in which he recounted in great detail the events of the Vizcaíno expedition as published by Fray Juan de Torquemada.³³ While in the main this was a factual account of the voyage, Fray Antonio did not omit the attractions and advantages of California which he had previously stated in 1620, and he again urged the settlement of San Bernabé.

Other witnesses questioned did not reflect the enthusiasm of Fray Antonio.³⁴ Lope de Arguelles Quiñones³⁵ and Rodrigo de Vivero, Conde del

Valle de Orizaba³⁶ regarded California as an area merely worthy of settlement, while Enrico Martínez, noted cosmographer, mathematician, printer and engineer, rebutted Fray Antonio's theories.³⁷ Since no proof of a lake of gold or Strait of Anian existed, Martínez wrote, and since California had not been circumnavigated,³⁸ little credit could be given to these concepts and the only concrete value of the area lay in its pearl fisheries.³⁹

Undaunted by his detractors, Fray Antonio answered by another "Deposition . . ." from the Carmelite convent of Puebla de los Angeles on March 22, 1632. This final document steadfastly held to the theories put forth in 1620, and urged the establishment of missions at San Bernabé for "one soul is worth more than a thousand worlds. . . ."⁴⁰

Thus thirty years after his participation in the historic voyage of Vizcaíno, Fray Antonio continued to praise California and promote its settlement. Although his retirement to Puebla removed him from an active life, Fray Antonio did not lose interest in California and on November 24, 1635, he requested copies of the logs and diaries made by Francisco de Ortega during his pearl fishing expeditions to the Gulf of California between February, 1631, and May, 1636.⁴¹ This was apparently Fray Antonio's last act relative to California for sometime shortly thereafter he died at the age of sixty-three.⁴²

The impact of Fray Antonio's propaganda relative to California was felt for over a century. His account of the Vizcaíno expedition as published by Torquemada was included by Father Miguel Venegas, S.J., in his *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual*, published in 1757,⁴³ and was used by other historians of the eighteenth century as their source of information on California.⁴⁴ Although the Strait of Anian and lake of gold were but fantasy and San Bernabé is but a small fishing village now called San Lucas, certainly Fray Antonio's description of California as a land of great wealth has been borne out by the development of the area during the past century, and he may be ranked as not only California's first, but one of its most dedicated and effective propagandists.

NOTES

1. Uncertainty as to Fray Antonio's background is expressed by José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional* (México, 3rd ed., 1947), I, 179; and Henry Raup Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest: 1542-1794* (Albuquerque, 1937), 205-206. For further information on the Discaled Carmelites in New Spain see: Dionisio Victoriano Moreno, *Los Carmelitas Descalzos y la Conquista Espiritual de México: 1585-1612* (México, 1966), footnote, 267.

2. Archivo de la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito, México, Misiones de la Alta California. Orden para que vaya R.P. Fray Andrés de Asunción a California: 3 de Enero 1602; and, Orden para que vayan los P.P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión y Fray Tomás de Aquino a California: 20 de Febrero 1602. See also, México. Archivo y Biblioteca de la Secretaría de Hacienda, *Las Misiones de la Alta California*, Colección de Documentos Históricos, II (México, 1914), 1-26; G.M. Echániz, *Jornada Principal*

de las Californias (México, 1964), *passim*; and, W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632* (Madrid, 1965), documentos 41 and 42.

3. Gerónimo Martín Palacios, his ability notwithstanding, was later found guilty of forging the King's name to his credentials and was hanged. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de México, legajo 26, Capítulos de una carta escrita al Rey por el Marqués de Montesclaros sobre Sebastián Vizcaíno: 28 de Abril 1605. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 63.

4. For a detailed account of the Vizcaíno voyage see: W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean: 1580-1630* (San Francisco, 1968), and works cited therein.

5. A. G. I., México 372, Derrotero desde Acapulco al Cabo Mendocino por Gerónimo Martín Palacios con los diseños de la costa hechos por Enrico Martínez: 8 y 19 de Noviembre 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 57 and copies cited therein.

6. A. G. I., México 60, Carta escrita al Rey por el Conde de Monterrey sobre Sebastián Vizcaíno: 22 de Noviembre 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 60 and copies cited therein.

7. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Manuscrito 3203, Derrotero desde el Cabo Mendocino al puerto de Acapulco hecho por P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 52 and copies cited therein.

8. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 12-15, 105-120.

9. The fabled Seven Cities of Cibola and Kingdom of Quivira were sought by Spanish explorers since their first mention by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1636 and Fray Marcos de Niza in 1538.

10. The *Santa Ana* was the Manila galleon of 1587 captured by Thomas Cavendish at Cabo San Lucas on November 14 of that year. Its loss was the greatest sustained by Spain in two centuries of trans-Pacific navigation. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 18-24; and W. Michael Mathes, ed., *The Capture of the Santa Ana, Cabo San Lucas, November 1587* (Los Angeles, 1969), *passim*.

11. Until the late eighteenth century most geographers held to the belief that, since a strait existed around the South American continent joining the Atlantic and Pacific, so also there must exist such a strait around North America. The strait in the north was referred to as the Strait of Anian and was not only long sought but was also "discovered" by several apocryphal navigators. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 12-14, 50-52, 118-119 and works cited therein.

12. A.G.I., México 207, Carta escrita al Rey por P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 18 de Junio 1608. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 80.

13. A.G.I., México 1065-T.6., Real Cédula en favor de Sebastián Vizcaíno: 27 de Septiembre 1608. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 83 and copies cited therein.

14. A.G.I., México 1065-T.5., Real Cédula sobre P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 14 de Abril 1609. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 87.

15. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 25-43. For full information relative to the Cardona enterprise see Sanford A. Mosk, "The Cardona Company and the pearl fisheries of Lower California," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (1934), 50-61; and, W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la explotación comercial de California: 1611-1679* (Madrid, 1970), documentos 1-21, 32, 39-40, 43, 76, 99.

16. For a full account of Spilbergen's activities in New Spain see Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 154-159.
17. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Manuscrito 3042. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 177 and copies cited therein.
18. The head of the Gulf of California is in 32° north latitude but since California was commonly thought of as an island, little concern for accurate latitude in the gulf was shown.
19. The area of San Bernabé (Cabo San Lucas) is extremely barren with only seasonal rainfall and plant life restricted to pitahaya cactus and desert brush. While some dove, rabbits and quail are to be found in the area they are not in abundance and the salt deposit described by Fray Antonio is not in existence at the present time, nor is there evidence of such a deposit having existed.
20. Ambergris is the vomitus of whales, highly prized for the manufacture of perfumes.
21. Monterey Bay, named in honor of the Viceroy by Sebastián Vizcaíno, was considered by its discoverer to be the best port in California for a resting station for Manila galleons. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 94, 98, 105, 108-109.
22. References are to the Roosevelt Elk, Abalone, and sea otter.
23. This was reported by the survivors of the *Tres Reyes* under Esteban López who had separated from Vizcaíno's ship, the *San Diego*, on January 5, 1603, in a violent storm, and was not experienced by Fray Antonio aboard the *San Diego*. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 98, 102, 104.
24. The myth of a lake of gold, El Dorado, was a driving force for Spanish expeditions to New Mexico and Utah as well as to the interior of Venezuela during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The towns referred to are the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola.
25. Expeditions to California during most of the seventeenth century were not undertaken at Royal expense and thus failed due to bankruptcy.
26. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana* (México, 1943), I, 694-725.
27. Drake's return to England in 1580 after his circumnavigation was thought by many to have been made via the strait due to its rapidity.
28. *Documentos para servir a la Historia del Nuevo México, 1538-1778* (Madrid, 1962), 197-98.
29. A.G.I., Indiferente 451/11, Real Cédula en favor de Pedro Bastán: 8 de Junio 1628. See also, Mathes, *Explotación Comercial*, documento 25.
30. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Real Cédula mandando que se haga la Audiencia de México pareceres sobre las entradas a California: 2 de Agosto 1628. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 179 and copies cited therein.
31. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Primer parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 20 de Mayo 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 180 and copies cited therein.
32. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Segundo parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 8 de Junio 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 182 and copies cited therein.
33. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Relación de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 183 and copies cited therein. For a translation and discussion of minor variants in copies of this document see Henry Raup

Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), 180-273. The map has not yet been located.

34. Witnesses giving testimony were Alfonso Ortiz de Sandoval, Sebastián Gutierrez, Diego de la Nava, Martín de Lezama, Gonzalo de Francia, Juan López de Vicuña all with interest in pearl fishing in the gulf. A.G.I., Patronato 30. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documentos 181, 186, and *Explotación Comercial*, documentos 28, 31, 33, 34 and copies cited therein.

35. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer del Capitán Lope de Argüelles Quiñones: 29 de Junio 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 184 and copies cited therein.

36. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer del Conde del Valle de Orizaba, D. Rodrigo de Vivero: 22 de Diciembre 1631. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 187 and copies cited therein. Vivero had been interim governor of the Philippines and had returned to New Spain via the California coast. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 121-134.

37. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer de Enrico Martínez: 30 de Julio 1629. See also *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 185 and copies cited therein. Writing from Huehuetoca, Martínez, a leading savant of sixteenth century New Spain, was employed as chief engineer of the drainage of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico.

38. Martínez, as most leading cartographers of the period, subscribed to the insularity of California.

39. The fishing of pearls drew four voyagers to California between 1615 and 1668 and was the sole cause of interest in California during that period.

40. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 22 de Marzo 1632. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, 188.

41. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Testimonio y autos hechos por Francisco de Ortega, and, A.G.I., Patronato 30, Demarcaciones y descripciones hechas por Francisco de Ortega: 1632-1636. See also, Mathes, *Explotación Comercial*, documentos 45 and 46 and copies cited therein.

42. Beristain, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, I, 179. The exact date of birth and death of Fray Antonio is not recorded.

43. Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California* (México, 1944), III, 28-88.

44. See: Juan Mateo Mange, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita en la América Septentrional y Diario de las Exploraciones en Sonora* (México, 1926), 117-124; Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California* (México, 1852), 73-75; and James Burney, *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* (London, 1803-1817), II, 236-256. For a short discussion of Fray Antonio's memorials see: Fernando de Ocaranza, "Verdades, mentiras y fantasías, que fueron escritas por un fraile Carmelita, cuando formó parte del séquito de Sebastián Vizcaíno en su segunda entrada a las Californias," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, XVII, 232-240, also published in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, VIII (1937), 590-599.

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

BOOK NOTICES

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP of Glen Dawson and Edwin H. Carpenter, some twenty-two volumes have been designed and printed by the Castle Press in Pasadena in the current Baja California Travels Series. *Kaigi Ibun: a Strange Tale from Overseas, or a New Account of America*, compiled by Maekawa Bunzo and Sakai Junzo, from the narrative of Hatsutaro, a Japanese castaway, and translated by Richard Zumwinkle, assisted by Tadanobu Kawai (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 143 pp, \$12.50), is a lavishly illustrated book. Reproduced in full color, the many plates depict landscapes and details of furniture and dress as observed by Hatsutaro while a castaway in Mazatlan in 1841. Grant Dahlstrom has designed a superlative book which will prove of considerable interest and fascination for all collectors of Western Americana. Hatsutaro, a sailor from Awa, and his shipmates were disabled by a storm at sea and came ashore on the coast of America. After three years abroad he returned to Japan by way of China. Hatsutaro, who had a tremendously dramatic flair, described and pictured animals, cactus, playing cards, and some of the customs of the western American scene with a remarkable flourish.

Compiled by Bunzo and Junzo in 1844, the book is largely based on Hatsutaro's own accounts, but also incorporates data known to them from various western sources. The result of this collaboration produced a unique and perceptive account of Lower California and of Mazatlan at a time when the Japanese, except for the *rangakusha* (researchers), could have known very little about Mexico. The 64 pages of text and Zumwinkle's excellent Introduction, rich in bibliographical notes, adds further enrichment to a most worthwhile publication.

Often lone examples of rare ephemera do not become readily available to that larger audience of scholars keenly interested in their historical content. Now a debt of gratitude is due to the San Diego Public Library for their willingness to share the contents of an original letter, recently purchased, from the Thomas W. Streeter Collection, describing the human struggle, in 1772, on California's first frontier. Issued as Volume 22 in the Baja California Travels Series is the unique and little known *Letter of Luis Jayme, O.F.M., San Diego, October 17, 1772* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 66 pp, \$7.50), translated by the illustrious mission historian and archivist for the Mission Santa Barbara, Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

Fray Jayme's letter, written the year following the founding of the Mission San Diego de Alcalá, pictures most graphically the difficulties encountered in the newly established Alta California mission foothold. Reverend Geiger points out the significance and importance of Jayme's letter in his splendid Introduction. Geiger takes especial delight in emphasizing the keen satisfaction present-day mission historians now enjoy in having an original letter of Fray Luis Jayme returned to San Diego after an absence of some 198 years. Once again, the skill and craftsmanship of Grant Dahlstrom, at the Castle Press, is evident in the excellent facsimile of the original letter and printing of the complete and erudite translation of Maynard Geiger.

Ephemeral materials filled with the flavor of local "grassroot" history would include *Memories of a Gold Digger*, by W. W. Kallenberger (Garden Grove: R. M. Kallenberger, 11782 Loreleen Street, Ca. 92641, 1970, 55 pp, \$3.66 including postage and sales tax). Personal and little known vignettes spanning the history of the Malakoff hydraulic mining endeavors in North Bloomfield, Nevada County, contain the reminiscences of W. W. Kallenberger, a mining engineer, whose profession took him to Mexico, the Mojave Desert, the Philippines, and home again to California.

Dr. Albert Shumate has once again contributed a most worthwhile and excellent biographical study, this time on George Henry Goddard, *The Life of George Henry Goddard, artist, architect, surveyor, and map maker*, with a preface by Francis P. Farquhar (Berkeley: Keepsake No. 17 issued for the Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1969, 13 pp, Membership \$15.00). The thirteen pages, with a splendid folding map in the pocket, present a vitally needed study on an amazingly talented man. As a surveyor and map maker Goddard has left a greatly appreciated legacy for students of the California scene.

American Indian Authors: a Representative Bibliography, compiled by Arlene B. Hirschfelder (New York: Association of American Indian Affairs, Inc., 432 Park Avenue South, N.Y. 10016, 1970, 45 pp, \$1.00), is arranged alphabetically by author with brief annotations and also includes a listing of authors by tribe. Certainly a worthwhile item to add to one's shelf of bibliographic materials!

Good cooks, as well as the most avid of book collectors, will discover a double dividend when they obtain a copy of a small but unique cook book compiled by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas V. Reeve II, of Orange County. The El Camino Bank had the foresight and good fortune to seek out the talented Reeves who had the skill and artistry to bring together two diverse subjects into one tantalizing and tasty combination, *The El Camino Real: Special Occasion Recipes; Dedicated to the 21 California Missions* (Anaheim: El Camino Bank, 203 E. Lincoln Avenue, Ca. 92805, 1970, gratis!).

News of another exciting letter discovery came to light and will be found in *A Letter of Junípero Serra to the Reverend Father Preacher Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuen: a Bicentennial Discovery*, translated and edited by the Reverend Francis J. Weber (Boston: David R. Godine, 1970, \$5.00), which is now available in a handsome format.

Much speculation and too much erroneous information has been dispersed over the years concerning the inauguration of western America's largest metropolis. Now a thorough examination of these many diverse accounts will be found in *The Founding of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, A Study in Historiography*, compiled by Reverend Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: The Plantin Press, 1970, 14 pp, \$15.00). Within Weber's fact-filled pages it is easy to discover how the fanciful tales gained embellishment over the years, and are now at long last honestly appraised. Handsomely designed and printed in a most limited edition of only 250 copies by Saul and Lillian Marks, this will be a most highly desired item for collectors and reference libraries.

The flavor and drama of California's Bicentennial still lingers and more so when such exciting publications as Kibbey M. Horne's fine *A History of the Presidio of Monterey, 1770 to 1970* (Monterey: Defense Language Institute, West Coast Branch, 1970, 58 pp.), make their appearance. Well illustrated and designed by Bruce Ariss, this is a well researched and planned tribute to Monterey's 200th Anniversary.

The City of Monterey Planning Commission has issued another desirable collection of splendid illustrations and photographs which have been gathered together in tribute

to lovely historic Monterey, *A Brief History of Old Monterey* (Monterey: Colonial Press, 1969, 113 pp.).

Of especial interest to historians and librarians will be *History of the Monterey Bay Area: a Selected Bibliography on the Occasion of California's Bicentennial*, compiled by the Monterey Bay Area Cooperative Library System (Monterey: Monterey Public Library, 1969, 48 pp.). This bibliography covers the "History of Early Monterey," "Monterey," "Natural History," and contains material on Biography, Fiction, and a special list for juvenile readers.

Mini-book *aficiandos* will meet head-on with the avid coterie of "Dawson Book Shop" imprint collectors when they attempt to secure the latest addition to the miniature book field, *Up 65 Years to Larchmont*, by Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: Bela Blau, 1970, 30 pp, \$6.00). Measuring but 1" by 1½", it is bound in deep-green leather by Bela Blau, who also hand-set, printed, and bound the text of this delightful "Tom Thumb" edition recounting, in telescopic fashion, the various moves of Dawson's Book Shop, from South Broadway in 1905 to its present location at 535 North Larchmont Boulevard.

50 Years in Death Valley—Memoirs of a Borax Man, by Harry P. Gower (San Bernardino: Death Valley 49'ers, 1970, 145 pp, \$2.95), is entertaining and rich in anecdotes of personalities and events about a desert Gower knew and loved. Gower was the initial founder of the present Borax Museum located in Death Valley. His *Memoirs* are enhanced with rare and excellent photographs. Gower's book deserves a place in those collections devoted to the study of the great American Desert and particularly to those devoted to Death Valley and its rich historical background.

Peter McIntyre's West, by Peter McIntyre (Menlo Park: 1970, \$19.50), will prove a delight to read again and again. The editors of *Sunset Magazine*, *Lane Magazine* and Book Company, commissioned McIntyre to tour the American West and record his impressions through the medium of paintings, drawings, and jottings of his own personal commentary for publication. His 20,000-mile journey provides an amazing wealth of view points and pictorial splendor. The pen-descriptions, at times, rival the brilliant colors of his palette. Indeed, Mr. McIntyre wields not only a facile brush but also an exceptionally descriptive pen. This is, indeed, a very unusual book on the American West as seen through the eyes of a New Zealand artist.

This Uncommon Heritage: the Paul Masson Story, by Robert Lawrence Balzer (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1970, 118 pp, \$8.95), may be titled "Uncommon Heritage," but it is a most uncommon book! The etching by Leon Lhermitte (French, 1844-1925), from the Norman N. Fromm Collection decorates the rich purple-hued cloth cover and within is a profusion of strikingly effective black and white as well as color photographs by Ansel Adams and Balzer. This Ritchie-designed book needs no nomination to become a most coveted and desired part of any collection whether devoted to the study of Viticulture or California. Simply to own *This Uncommon Heritage* for the pure joy of acquiring a truly beautiful book should be reason enough!

Mark Twain and J. Ross Browne proved, quite adequately, that historical reporting need not be a dullish bore. The arrival of *Jim Sleeper's 1st Orange County Almanac of Historical Oddities, 1889-1971*, not only brings a massive grouping of relevant and irrelevant facts but provides an opportunity to thoroughly enjoy the small investment of \$2.25 (postpaid) for this titillating and humorous compendium of historic facts. Sleeper (born in 1927) claims he's spent 43 years preparing this unusual 96 page *Almanac* dealing with such subjects as: "Life in the 70's" (the 1870's, that is), "Who Did What First," "Art in Orange County," and "Those Pesky Riverside Winds," to mention but a few. For the residents of Orange County and for the non-resident, as

well—discover the history that made Orange County the way it is! (Box 291, Trabuco Canyon, Ca. 92678, 1971).

Sometimes in the collecting of Californiana or Western Americana the fields of fictional or juvenile writing are overlooked. Augusta Fink, author of *Time and the Terraced Land*, history of the Palos Verdes Peninsula, gathered together her many notes and from them has created a highly readable story for readers in the Junior High School level, *To Touch the Sky* (San Carlos: Golden Gate Junior Books, 1970, 104 pp, \$4.95). Miss Fink has created an intriguing tale based on the Indian and rancho days. The story of the strong bond of friendship that grew and developed between Cristobal and Mactutu, the Indian, and of life at the Missions San Luis Rey and San Gabriel, and of the large ranchos of Palos Verdes and San Pedro are well described and pictured for the younger reader.

Verde to San Carlos: Recollections of a Famous Army Surgeon and his Observant Family on the Western Frontier, 1869-1886, by William T. Corbusier (Tucson: Dale Stuart King Publisher, 1969, 31 pp, \$25.00), is a volume filled with a variety of notes and personal recollections brought together over the years by Colonel Corbusier and his youngest son, the author. The five Corbusier sons were brought up under the continual strain of Indian warfare and the hardships of the arid regions of the West. An officer's family, especially a medical officer's, entered very intimately into all of an Army camp's activities and unofficially knew more than the commanding officer. Much of the material and illustration is based on personal records still retained in the Corbusier family and upon those reminiscences written, many years later, by Dr. Corbusier. The *Recollections* cover Forts Washakie, Laramie, Fetterman, Sheridan, Garland, Reno, and Grant and Camps Winnemucca and McDermit. Material is to be found on the Yuvapai and Apache, the Colorado River of the early 1870's, the Rio Verde Agency and Bowie in 1884. This is a worthy addition to the growing records of military life, viewed not only from the viewpoint of Dr. Corbusier but also of his wife, and incorporates some of the notes and memoirs of their five sons,

A vivid and fascinating study of the historical background of any geographic area can be obtained readily through the perusal of bibliographies. Several excellent and stimulating bibliographies have recently been published, and notable among them would be: *Arizona Odyssey: Bibliographic Adventures in Nineteenth-Century Magazines*, by David M. Goodman (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1969, 360 pp, \$9.00). Mr. Goodman's work provides just that, "a bibliographic adventure," for the reader, student or collector. Good bibliographies provide clues to other sources and Mr. Goodman's is a most tantalizing one! Holdings in numerous museums, libraries, military and church libraries, as well as in private libraries, have been diligently searched for items to fill in the wide gap of 19th century magazines dealing with Arizoniana source items. For a young state Arizona has certainly enjoyed a plethora of visitors and residents who recorded, in countless magazines and pamphlets, their experiences and views.

A stimulating boost to book collecting arrived with the latest publication of Reverend Francis J. Weber's *A Select Los Angeles Bibliography, 1872-1970* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 44 pp, \$7.50). This small but immensely valuable study presents a clear cut "bookish" portrait of the past and present-day history of Los Angeles. W. W. Robinson, foremost authority on southern California, contributed the fine Foreword. Reverend Weber has appraised 250 titles dealing exclusively with Los Angeles. It is irksome to point out that only 250 copies of this invaluable bibliography are available for the book collecting public and libraries.

A Bibliographic Odyssey (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969, 32 pp, \$5.00), also by Francis J. Weber, commemorates the formal dedication of the *Bibliotheca*

Montereyensis-Angelorum Dioeceseos, which took place in historic San Fernando Mission, November 21, 1969. The history and background of the work involved in bringing together this outstanding collection of mission archival material is well presented. This bibliographic gem will gain in stature and importance in light of the recent tragic and disastrous San Fernando Valley earthquake which affected not only the old mission but also the fine library assembled so lovingly by Father Weber.

A History of the Chinese in California: a Syllabus, edited by Thomas W. Chinn with Associate Editors H. Mark Lai and Philip P. Choy (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969, 82 pp, \$5.00), is one of the very worthwhile studies undertaken by the Chinese Historical Society located in San Francisco and carried to fruition in this Lawton and Alfred Kennedy printing. Various trades, industries, and community developments are well presented along with maps and valuable tables giving population and immigration trends in the United States of the Chinese. This publication is the perfect companion piece to *The Chinese in California, a Brief Bibliographic History*, by Hansen and Heintz.

Book Reviews

In Pursuit of American History. By Walter Rundell, Jr. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. 445 pp, \$7.95.)

Reviewed by JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Professor of History at the University of Southern California, who has served for two decades as secretary-treasurer of the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch.*

The preparation of historians is often a mystery to those outside the profession observing the training of graduates, and it also baffles some history professors who find their methods and observations difficult to justify when they are under attack. The lack of scientific procedures used by other disciplines troubles many historians, but revisions of their works by younger colleagues who find new ideas in well turned leaves of manuscripts is an unsettling experience for ego and reputation. The strange ways of historians have given rise to many explanations, but this new evaluation of the profession by Walter Rundell, author of two other books and chairman of the Iowa State University history department, concentrates upon the training of American historians through an analysis of the opinions and practices of 557 individuals in 112 institutions. The emphasis of the book is well described in its title—*In Pursuit of American History*—in the study of method, research tools, sources, relations of historians and librarians, and research needs. Little or nothing, however, is presented on the academic market place and its relations to research, the ethical standards of historians, history as a dialectic, or the teaching of history.

With the lack of attention to these topics, the book has an unreal quality about it. Since historians are notoriously embroiled in professional politics, success in the profession too often reflects the power of a student's major professor, the prestige of his university, and the vitality of its recruiting system. Positions flow frequently in the direction of candidates from a well established university or professor, and opportunities many times have little relation to the originality of the student's research or ability. Sometimes the student is aided in his professional advancement because his

university has a prestigious press. In short, a discussion of method, research libraries, and mechanical aids, etc., must be put into perspective with a discussion of the market place. These centers of prestige and power were built up over decades, and these, with their libraries, professors, presses, and traditions, exercise influence over research, publication, and advancement. To write of historical training without reference to them tells only part of the story of the pursuit of American history.

Even with this dynamic part of the profession missing from his narrative, the author manages to convey the vigorous quality of graduate instruction. The interviewing of 557 professors, librarians, archivists, and graduate students provides an excellent cross section of opinion concerning the professional problems surveyed. The impression one gets of the survey is that of registering great professional diversity on all subjects and a superabundance of activity. The results themselves raise questions about the informational value of the survey. Except for the individualization of opinions the results seem predictable. Historians disagree on almost every conceivable professional practice. These opinions and practices were not tabulated in most cases, so that the author's common sense rises above the smoke of combat. Much of what he records could have been done without such exhaustive traveling and interviewing. Some of his unwritten impressions of historians, their offices and laboratories, projects, and university affiliations might be more valuable in determining the health and vitality of the profession than what he wrote, but, of course, to reveal these impressions might have brought down criticism and denunciation.

The author presents a good mirror of the history profession and has involved in his narrative most of the major writers of history. In California he visited four branches of the University of California, the University of Southern California, Stanford University, and the Huntington Library, and he spoke with more than twenty-five scholars. He has skillfully woven these opinions into a well presented, precisely written discussion of professional problems. The value of the book rests with the analysis of opinion and historical experience and, perhaps, the book may become a document of importance later in registering the names and observations of historians in the late 1960s.

In Memoriam

DWIGHT L. CLARKE

The official publication of the Occidental Life Insurance Company carried these lines as a heading on its front page, "Thirty-five years of distinguished and devoted service to Occidental Life came to a close on Sunday evening, February 7 with the death of Dwight L. Clarke, a Director of the company and its President from 1944 through 1950."

But this is not all. He was born in Berkeley, California, some fifteen years before the turn of the century, and educated at the University of California at Berkeley and Hastings Law School. After ten years of banking experience in San Francisco, he moved to Bakersfield where he joined a bank which was later absorbed by The Bank of Italy—now Bank of America. This brought him in contact with and under the watchful eyes of A. P. Giannini, his brother, Dr. Giannini, and son, L. M. Giannini. Within that organization, he became Executive Vice President in charge of all of the banks in southern California, some 90 branches.

In the middle of the 1930's when L. M. Giannini was searching for an able and trusted man to manage Occidental Life, he selected Dwight, who got the job in spite of the reluctance of A. P. Giannini, who valued his services in the bank and disliked losing him.

His record at Occidental can best be summed up by the statistics which reflect that when he came to Occidental in 1936 the company operated in 23 states and territories and 6 Canadian provinces, had \$210 million of life insurance in force and assets of \$24 million and was the 48th largest of American and Canadian companies in terms of insurance in force. At his retirement, it was operating in 18 additional jurisdictions, had \$2.7 billion of life insurance in force and assets of \$278 million and was the 17th largest.

While achieving distinction as a life insurance executive, he devoted his time and talent to a host of civic, cultural, charitable, and educational enterprises such as Occidental College, Loyola University, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, American Cancer Society, The Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles, and others. A second generation Californian, he had an enthusiastic and intense interest in his native state and in the American West, as evidenced by the fact that he was a member of Zamorano Club, Sierra Club, California Historical Society, and other similar groups. Among the distinguished offices he held was that of Trustee of the California Historical Society.

During his retirement years, he devoted much time to these interests and offered works such as *General Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West*; *William Tecumseh Sherman, Gold Rush Banker*; and the *Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner*. Each of these works is a scholarly piece evidencing exhaustive research and documentation. The latest of his writings, published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, is entitled "The Gianninis, Men of the Renaissance," which is a valuable addition to the printed knowledge of the great California business leaders of that name. During these retirement years, with his eyesight failing, he persistently pursued his research through the aid of Mrs. Clarke, who was his seeing eye, and as she read to him from the records, he made his notes.

Although he was a man of strong conviction, I never heard him utter an unkind word about anyone, regardless of how heated the discussion. Dwight was a man for all seasons and his leaving creates a void in the business, civic, and intellectual communi-

ties that will be difficult to fill. All of us share in the loss of this good, able, and dedicated man who leaves so much of himself with those who knew him.

And now I close with those few Spanish words so meaningful and beautiful, *adios, basta la vista*—good-bye, till we meet again.

EARL C. ADAMS

EDGAR MYRON KAHN

EDGAR MYRON KAHN, a devoted member of the California Historical Society since 1932, died in San Francisco at Children's Hospital on December 26, 1970. Born in San Francisco on November 24, 1904, he was a life-time resident of the city he loved so dearly. His parents were Ira and Marie (Clayburgh) Kahn. He was survived by his wife, Ann, a daughter, Marjorie Ann, (Mrs. Harold Reed) of New York City, and a son, Kenneth, of San Francisco.

Edgar attended Madison School, Lowell High School, and received his B.S. from Stanford University in 1925. He then attended Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Returning to San Francisco in 1928, he, like his father, chose the investment business as his profession. After twelve years' association with the investment house of J. Barth and Company, a firm founded by his great uncle, he opened his own office as an investment counselor.

Philanthropist and civic leader, his activities were many and varied. He was an honorary member of the St. Andrew's Society, a member of the National Board of Directors of the American Jewish Committee, and a past Director of the San Francisco Salvation Army, the San Francisco Cable Car Museum, the Gleeson Library of the University of San Francisco, and the World Affairs Council. He also had served as a President of the Public Education Society. His memberships included the Arboretum Society, the Businessmen's Garden Club, Fidelity Lodge No. 120, F. & A. M., Scottish Rite, Islam Temple of the Shrine, Commonwealth Club, B'nai B'rith, Engineers Club, and the Concordia-Argonaut Club. He was a life member of the California Academy and a former President of the Northern California Harvard Business School Club.

Edgar's cultural interests were also exemplified in his sponsorship of the San Francisco Opera Association and the San Francisco Symphony Association. He was a long-time member of the Chit Chat Club, the Book Club of California, and of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, serving the latter as its Master of the Press in 1945-46.

He loved California and wanted its beauty preserved. He was a life member of the Sierra Club and the Save-The-Redwoods League. He enjoyed hiking and knew the high Sierra as well as his beloved Tamalpais, the "enchanted mountain," as he referred to it in a book he edited in 1946.

As an author he was best known for his popular *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, first published by Stanford University Press in 1940. Other publications included *Bret Harte in California* and two books relating to Andrew S. Hallidie. Edgar's interest in the inventor of the cable car, Hallidie, led him to form the "Friends of Andrew Smith Hallidie," which resulted, in 1952, in the placing of a state plaque in his honor in Portsmouth Plaza. He admired greatly Robert Louis Stevenson and for many years organized R.L.S. birthday ceremonies at Stevenson Monument in Portsmouth Plaza.

As an historian he was greatly interested in the welfare of the California Historical Society. Not only did he serve as a Trustee of the Society from 1958 to 1965, but diligently worked on numerous committees. These included the Membership Committee

(1943-1958—the last year as chairman), the Editorial Committee (1952-58), Chairman of the Public Relations Committee (1958), Chairman of the Program Committee (1958-60), and from 1962 until his death, the Historic Names and Sites Committee (1962-63 as Chairman). The marking of the Conservatory in Golden Gate Park as a California Historical Landmark was largely the result of his efforts. The dedication ceremony on November 19, 1970, was the last public appearance of this devoted worker.

Having known and admired Edgar since boyhood days, I believe Rabbi Joseph Asher of the Congregation Emanu-El portrayed him during the Memorial Services on December 29, 1970, in a most graphic manner: "The image that is most vivid in my mind as I think of Edgar Kahn is of a man who personified culture, civility, dignity, and gentility." And, after speaking of the public portion of Edgar's life, he continued, "The love for his wife and family, the peace and tranquility he experienced in their midst, the joys he sensed in his home, which itself is a symbol of the elegant past, were the source from which his energy and loyalty sprung."

ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

WALTER L. SCHUBERT

I met Walter Schubert only once. He was a quiet, gentle man. We sat next to each other at a luncheon honoring the discovery of San Francisco Bay. Between the speeches and the toasts, we talked. He was a good man to talk to, soft spoken, interested in life, and in possession of a pleasant sense of humor. He did not talk much about himself; from what I understand, he seldom did. But he acted.

One of his actions was a gift to the California Historical Society, a gift which made possible the purchase of the building in which the Library is housed, Schubert Hall. The hall is not named for Mr. Schubert; he asked that it be named for his sister, Miss Otilie Schubert. Her portrait hangs in the main entry to the Library. She is a very beautiful woman. There is an aura of gentleness and quiet dignity about her portrait that I remember about the person of her brother. I understand that California history was one of her major interests; that is why Walter Schubert asked that the hall be named for her.

His gift was a kind and generous one, a thoughtful gift, not only for his sister but for the many people who benefit from the use of Schubert Hall, approximately 6000 per year. Few people have the opportunity to give such a gift. Not always do they give so quietly and so generously. Walter Schubert was an unusual man.

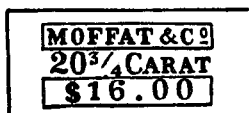
He was born in Chicago but came to California early in his life. There must have been something of the romantic in him. He worked on a sailing ship for a time in his youth. He mined in Montana. He did some surveying in California. And he was one of the first men to start trucking produce from the Salinas Valley to Oakland. In later years he worked for the Railway Express. In 1963 he retired to a home in Lafayette.

The story is a simple one, if any life is simple. He did not stride upon the stage and seek to dominate the scene. But when he died on February 3, 1971, at seventy-six years of age, he left all of us who are interested in California history considerably better off than when he came.

PETER A. EVANS

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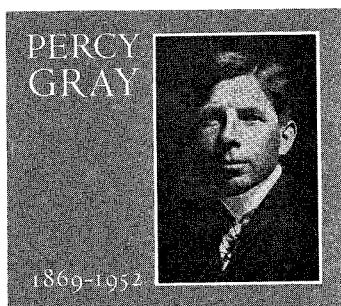
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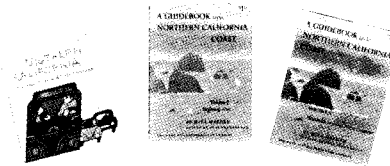


PERCY GRAY: AN ARTIST AND HIS TIMES

TO ACCOMPANY THE RECENT major exhibition at the California Historical Society of the life and works of Percy Gray, one of California's most notable landscape painters, Donald C. Whitton has published (in cooperation with CHS) a book on Gray that is much more than the usual exhibition catalogue.

Percy Gray, 1869-1952 represents a full-length treatment of both the artist and his milieu. A 96-page book in the sturdy and handsome 8 x 9 inch soft-cover format that has become customary for excellently printed art books, *Percy Gray* features 119 illustrations, eleven of them in full color. Donald C. Whitton, a grand-nephew of Gray, and Robert E. Johnson are the co-authors. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., has contributed the preface and Thomas Albright the introduction. Lewis Ferbraché has written the notable epilogue on Percy Gray's environment and contemporaries.

This limited edition book is available through the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109, at \$5.95. Mail orders will be accepted and filled promptly, but California residents should be sure to add 5½% sales tax to their check.



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A Note from the Editor

THIS ISSUE OF THE *California Historical Quarterly* bulks larger than the standard number because it contains two CHS centennial features—a bibliography of our one hundred years of publication effort and a pictorial showing some of the aspects of California when CHS was founded 100 years ago.

The bibliography of publications was made possible by a generous donation from Earl C. Adams, of San Marino. This same bibliography, in an elegant hard cover edition, is now available to members of CHS. Titled *The First Hundred Years*, it has been printed in a limited edition of 350 copies on Tweedweave Text by letterpress, and you may reserve a copy by sending \$7.93 (\$7.50 plus tax and postage) to CHS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109.

We particularly urge you to purchase your copy now, as the edition is not only limited but all proceeds from the sale of the centennial bibliography will be used to publish supplementary material in future *Quarterlies*. In this way we hope to build a fund to make the *Quarterly* more responsive to such special needs as the publication of catalogues to go with special exhibitions of the Society.

While we are speaking of books and the support of CHS publications, we will again call attention to the recent new edition of *El Molino Viejo*—the history of our Southern California quarters. *El Molino* is now available in not only the hard cover edition (\$5.00 including tax) but also in a handsome soft cover at \$2.95 (including tax). We urge you to add one of these editions to your library while they are still available.

In order to provide substantial member discounts while keeping our book inventory within bounds, we are offering discounts to members only on a pre-publication basis. *El Molino* was initially offered at \$3.80 (hard cover, not including tax and postage); *The First Hundred Years* will cost \$10.00 (plus tax and postage) after September 1.

While we regret imposing a time limit on member purchases at member discount, we are in the happy position of pointing out that pre-publication purchase of every book that CHS publishes this year will offer you a *saving* roughly equivalent to the cost of the regular active membership. A bonus that cannot be measured in money is the support of your CHS publication program.

ROGER OLMSTED

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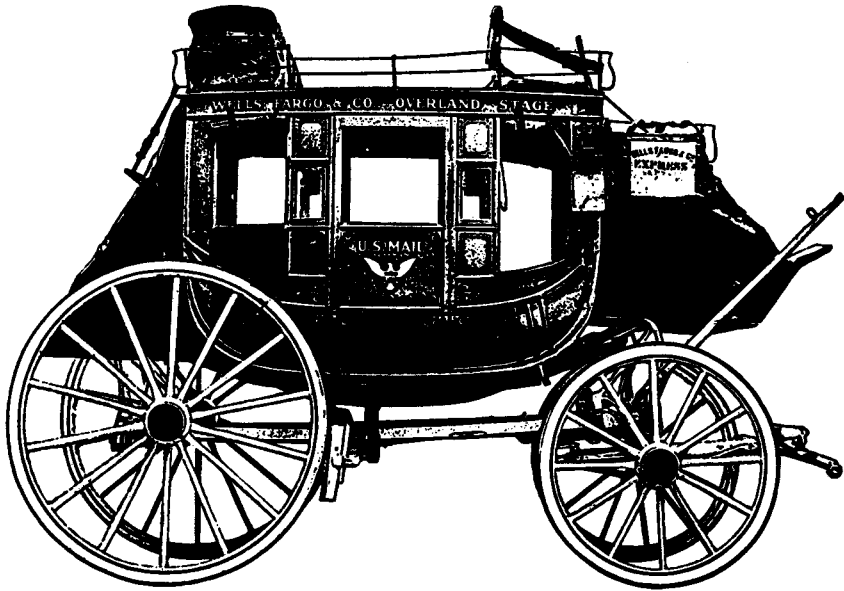
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